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BANGALORE, 2.

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THE CHIEF VARIETIES OF *DHVANI* ACCORDING TO ĀNANDAVARDHANA

BY DR. K. KRISHNAMOORTHY, M.A., PH.D.

IN the course of our consideration of Ānandavardhana's theory of *Dhvani* in relation to other concepts[1], several varieties of *Dhvani* have been incidentally touched upon; in this article an attempt is made to explain the principle adopted by Ānandavardhana in the classification of *Dhvani* and to illustrate such varieties as have not been dealt with before.

According to Ānandavardhana, though suggestiveness is a function of words quite independent in a sense of Denotation (*Abhidhā*) and Indication (*Lakṣaṇā*), it is also entirely dependent on them in another sense in so far as *Dhvani* can never function without the assistance of either of them.[2] It derives initial support from either Denotation or Indication and yet outshines

1. *Vide* my articles; (a) 'Ānandavardhana's Treatment of *Alankāra* in relation to *Dhvani* — Indian Culture. Vol. XIV. No. 4. Pp. 157-171. (b) 'Ānandavardhana's Treatment of *Rasa* in relation to *Dhvani*. Journal of Oriental Research, Madras. Vol. XVII. Pt. II. Pp. 80-91.

2. *Vide* my paper 'Ānandavardhana's Theory of *Dhvani*', Proceedings of the XIV All-India Oriental Conference. (To be published.)

them ultimately. Based on this fact, we have the most fundamental division of *Dhvani* into

1. *Avivakṣita-vācya* or *Lakṣaṇā-mūla*

and 2. *Vivakṣitānyapara-vācya* or *Abhidhā-mūla* [3].

In the first of these varieties, *Dhvani* is based upon *Lakṣaṇā*, the primary sense (*Vācya*) being insignificant. In the second, there is no part played by *Lakṣaṇā*; *Dhvani* proceeds directly on the basis of the primary sense.

In *avivakṣita-vācya-dhvani*, again, the primary sense may either become amalgamated with the new sense or get itself destroyed completely.

Accordingly, we have two sub-divisions of it:

1. *arthāntara-saṅkramita-vācya*, and
2. *atyanta-tiraskṛta-vācya*.[4]

The following verse is an instance of the former,

स्निग्धश्यामलकान्तिलिप्तवियतो वेल्लद्बलाका घना
वाताः शीकरिणः पयोदसुहृदामानन्दकेकाः कलाः ।
कामं सन्तु दृढं कठोरहृदयो रामाऽस्मि सर्वं सहे
वैदेही तु कथं भविष्यति हहा हा देवि धीरा भव ॥ [5]

The word Rāma in the verse is used with a great suggestive force. It means here much more than an individual known by that proper name. It suggests poignantly how Rāma's gentle heart has been converted into a stone as it were by the repeated onslaughts of mounting misfortune, how he can put up with any calamity now without the slightest feeling, even if it were to be news of his darling Sītā's death.[6]

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3. अस्ति ध्वनिः । स चासावविवक्षितवाच्यो विवक्षितान्यपरवाच्यश्चेति द्विविधः सामान्येन. *Dhv.* P. 136 (*Dhv.* is the abbreviation used for *Dhvanyāloka*; page references are to Kashi Sanskrit Series Edition with *Locana* and *Bāla-priyā*).

4. अर्थान्तरे सङ्क्रमितमत्यन्तं वा तिरस्कृतम् ।
अविवाक्षितवाच्यस्य ध्वनेर्वाच्यं द्विधा मतम् ॥ Dhv. II. 1

5. Dhv. Pp. 167-8.

6. इत्यत्र रामशब्दः । अनेन हि व्यङ्ग्यधर्मान्तरपरिणतः सञ्ज्ञी प्रत्याय्यते, न संज्ञिमात्रम् । Dhv. P. 169.

The latter is illustrated in:

रविसंक्रान्तसौभाग्यस्तुषारावृतमण्डलः ।
निःश्वासान्ध इवादर्शश्चन्द्रमा न प्रकाशते ॥ [7]

The primary sense of '*andha*' in निःश्वासान्ध इवादर्शः ('Like a mirror blinded by breath'), will have to be given up since the mirror cannot become literally blind. It secondarily means 'rendered dim and cloudy,' which again suggests the ideas of absence of beauty and the like. [8]

In *vivakṣitānyaparavācya-dhvani* also, two sub-divisions might be noted. The suggested sense may be grasped simultaneously with the primary sense, or there may be some short interval of time between the comprehension of the two senses. In the first alternative we have *asaṁlakṣyakrama-vyaṅgya* since no temporal sequence in the understanding of the two senses can be perceived; in the second alternative, we have *saṁlakṣyakramasvyaṅgya*.[9] All primary suggestions of *Rasas*, *Bhāvas*, *Rasābhāsas*, *Bhāvābhāsas*, *Rasas'ānti* and *Bhāvaśānti* should be regarded as coming under the first of the above categories, viz. *asaṁlakṣyakrama*.[10] But *saṁlakṣyakrama* follows in the wake of the primary sense like the resonance of an echo and it may arise through words (*śabda*) or meaning (*artha*). Hence we have two varieties of it:

1. *Śabda-śakti-mūla-anuraṇana-rūpa-vyaṅgya* [11] and
2. *Artha-śakti-mūla-anuraṇana-rūpa-vyaṅgya.* [12]

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7. *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Ayodhyā Kāṇḍa*, XVI. 13.

8. Dhv. P. 172.

9. असंलक्ष्यक्रमोद्योतः क्रमेण द्योतितः परः ।
विवक्षिताभिधेयस्य ध्वनेरात्मा द्विधा मतः ॥ Dhv. II. 2

10. रसभावतदाभासतत्प्रशान्त्यादिरक्रमः ।
ध्वनेरात्माङ्गिभावेन भासमानो व्यवस्थितः ॥ Dhv. V. 3.

11 For a distinction between this and *s'leṣa-alaṅkāra* vide, my article in Indian Culture, already referred to.

12. क्रमेण प्रतिभात्यात्मा योऽस्यानुस्वानसन्निभः ।
शब्दार्थशक्तिमूलत्वात्सोऽपि द्वेधा व्यवस्थितः ॥ Dhv. II. 20.

The following verse of Kāḷidāsa is an instance of the second variety :—

> एवं वादिनि देवर्षौ पार्श्वे पितुरधोमुखी ।
> लीलाकमलपत्राणि गणयामास पार्वती ॥ [13]

Pārvatī's modesty and secret happiness are suggested by her action of counting lotus petals. The suggestion is due not to the extraordinary power of the words, but to the meaning.[14] Though modesty is a *vyabhicāri-bhāva*, its suggestion in the verse is not *alakṣyakrama*. For the latter's province is restricted to the suggestion of *rasas* directly through explicit description of *vibhāvas*, *anubhāvas*, etc.[15] In other words, if the suggestion of *bhāvas* invariably and necessarily leads to the grasping of *rasas* we have *alakṣyakrama*.

But in this instance counting of lotus petals is not invariably associated with either modesty or the sentiment of love. It may be done in sport also. So it is not *alakṣyakrama-vyaṅgya*, but *arthāśaktimūla-dhvani*.

This variety of *Dhvani* may be further sub-divided on the basis of the principle whether the suggested idea happens to be only an imaginative one fancied by the poet (*Prauḍhoktimātraniṣpannaśarīra*) or can also be found to exist in the world of Nature (*Svataḥ sambhavi*). In other words the suggested idea may belong entirely to the imaginative world of the poet, (or a character in poetry invented by the poet) or it may correspond to the world of reality also.[16] The example '*evaṁ vādini*' etc. belongs to the second category since such a thing as counting

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13. *Kumārasambhava*, VI. 84.

14. अर्थशक्त्युद्भवस्त्वन्यो यत्रार्थः स प्रकाशते ।
यस्तात्पर्येण वस्त्वन्यद्यनक्त्युक्तिं विना स्वतः ॥ Dhv. II. 22.

15. यतो यत्र साक्षाच्छब्दनिवेदितेभ्यो विभावानुभावव्यभिचारिभ्यो रसादीनां प्रतीतिः, स तस्य केवलस्य मार्गः । Dhv. P. 248.

16. प्रौढोक्तिमात्रानिष्पन्नशरीरः सम्भवी स्वतः ।
अर्थोऽपि द्विविधो ज्ञेयः वस्तुनोऽन्यस्य दीपकः ॥ Dhv. II. 24.

lotus petals is not impossible in this world. As an instance of the first, we may take the following verse:

सज्जेहि सुरहिमासो ण दाव अप्पेइ जुअइजणलक्खमुहे ।
अहिणवसहआरमुहे णवपल्लवपत्तले अणङ्गस्स शरे ॥

(The spring accoutres but not yet hurls darts of cupid at the targets viz. youthful ladies; the darts none other than fresh *sahakāra*-flowers mingled with new sprouts and leaves.)
The suggested idea is that first seeds of love-torment are being sown in the hearts of ladies which will assume greater proportions with the lapse of time at the advent of the spring season bringing in its wake a rich harvest of flowers and sprouts.[17]

That the suggested idea is grasped at all is due to the highly imaginative style of the poet. If he had simply said—'Flowers and sprouts were in abundance during spring,' there would be nothing suggestive.

In the two categories of *arthas'akti-mūla-dhvani* mentioned above, what is suggested is an idea or *vastu*. But *alaṅkāras* may also be suggested and this is a third category to be noted.[18]

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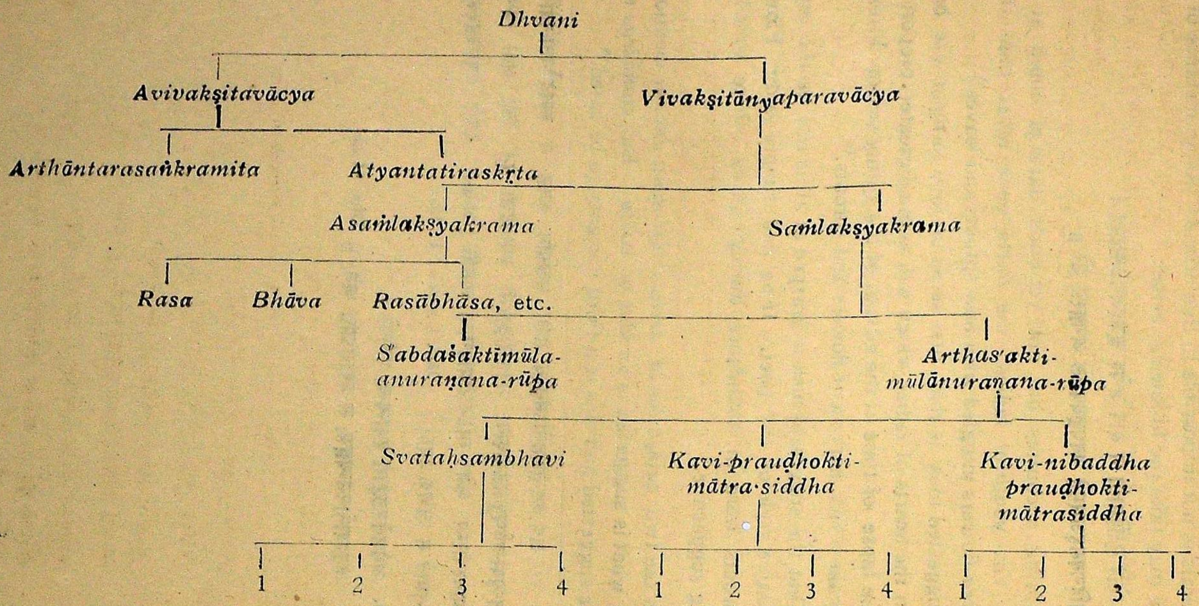
17. *Cf.* अत्र वसन्तश्चेतनोऽनङ्गस्य सखा सज्जयति केवलं न तावदर्पयतीत्येवंविधया समर्पयितव्यवस्त्वर्पणकुशलयोक्त्या सहकारोद्भेदिनी वसन्तदशा यत उक्ता अतो ध्वन्यमानं मन्मथोन्माथस्यारम्भं क्रमेण गाढगाढीभविष्यन्तं व्यनक्ति । अन्यथा वसन्ते सपल्लवसहकारोद्गम इति वस्तुमात्रं न व्यञ्जकं स्यात् । *Dhv. Locana.* P. 255.

18. अर्थशक्तेरलङ्कारो यत्राप्यन्यः प्रतीयते ।
अनुस्वानोपमव्यङ्ग्यः स प्रकारोऽपरो ध्वनेः ॥ Dhv. II 25.

The above varieties of *Dhvani* are schematically represented below :



1. *Vastu* from *Vastu*.
2. *Alaṅkāra* from *vastu*.
3. *Vastu* from *Alaṅkāra*.
4. *Alaṅkāra* from *Alaṅkāra*.

The above classsification is made from the standpoint of *vyaṅgya* or 'what is suggested.' These various classes of *Dhvani* may be looked at from the standpoint of *vyañjaka* or 'that which suggests' also. It will be noticed that in all the varieties of *Dhvani*, *pada* (word), and *vākya* (sentence) serve as suggesters. In addition to these two, *prabandha* (the work as a whole) can act as a suggester in the three varieties of *artha-s'akti-mūla-anuraṇana-rūpa-dhvani.*[19] But in *Rasa-dhavni* (which is *asaṁlakṣya-krama*), besides these three mentioned above, *varṇa* (letter), *saṅghaṭanā* (arrangement), *sup* (case ending of nouns) *tiṅ* (case-endings of verbs), *vacana* (number), *sambandha* (agreement), *kāraka-s'akti* (special meanings of cases), *kṛt* (primary suffixes), *taddhita* (secondary suffixes) and *Samāsa* (compounds)—all serve as suggesters.[20]

Ānandavardhana winds up this subject by pointing out how these several classes of *Dhvani* enter into further permutations and combinations not only with one another, but also with the classes of *Guṇībhūta-vyaṅgya* and with the numberless *alaṅkāras*;[21] so much so that their number is countless and can never be exhausted by the process of simple enumeration. Only the broadest distinctions have been indicated above.[22] In every instance of poetry a touch of distinction is involved in some form or another and the poet as well as the critic should note the way of suggestion carefully.[23]

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19. अनुस्वानोपमात्मापि प्रभेदो य उदाहृतः ।
ध्वनेरस्य प्रबन्धेषु भासते सोऽपि केषुचित् ॥ Dhv. III. 15

20. *Vide* my article in the *J. O. R. Madras.* referred to above.

21. सगुणीभूतव्यङ्ग्यैः सालङ्कारैः सह प्रभेदैः स्वैः ।
सङ्करसंसृष्टिभ्यां पुनरप्युद्द्योतते बहुधा ॥ Dhv. III. 43

22. एवं ध्वनेः प्रभेदाः प्रभेदभेदाश्च केन शक्यन्ते ।
संख्यातुं दिङ्मात्रं तेषामिदमुक्तमस्माभिः ॥ Dhv. III. 44

23. इत्युक्तलक्षणो यो ध्वनिर्विवेच्यः प्रयत्नतः सद्भिः ।
सत्काव्यं कर्तुं वा ज्ञातुं वा सम्यगभियुक्तैः ॥ Dhv. III, 45

ECONOMIC CONDITION IN MEDIEVAL KARNATAKA

By Dr. A. P. Karmarkar, M.A., LL.B., Ph.D.

Exports and Imports—Prosperous Karnataka—Coins, Weight and Measures—Guilds.

A marvellous workmanship in the field of art and architecture, a sound system of administration, a net-work of educational centres spread throughout the nook and corner, and a perfection reached in every department of life—all these elements would not have been imbibed by Karnāṭaka as a nation, provided there were to be an absence of a strong economic foundation. In fact, Karnāṭaka had a perfect guild system, a separate section on coins, weights and measures and she all possessed was necessary to make her people happy through the hundreds of years gone-by. Here we have attempted to give a brief survey of the main problems in regard to the economic life of the people.

Exports and Imports

India, the Roman Empire and China: There was a close commercial intercourse between Karnāṭaka and the empires and cities of the West in the ancient times. As has been rightly observed by S. Srikantaya: "The trade between South India and the Roman Empire was extensive in the first and the second century A.D. It first started in the luxuries of life (*e.g.* pepper, spices, fine muslin, perfumes, unguents, pearls, precious stones) and later extended to cotton and industrial products. The discovery of the monsoon helped its expansion. It was largest from the time of Augustus to Nero (A.D. 68)... It was checked and perhaps temporarily stopped by Caracallas' massacre of the people of Alexandria in A.D. 215. Under the Bazyantines, the trade was with South-west India, *i.e.* Travancore and the South-west coast, and commerce with the Deccan and the interior declined... In the Flavian period there was extensive trade with the Malabar Coast."[1]

That there was also such a close contact between this mighty Roman empire and Karnāṭaka can be seen from the fact that a

1. Srikantaya. *Kannada Passages in the Oxyrhyncus, Papyri* No. 413 QJMS. Vol. XVIII. Pp. 294-341.

few silver coins of Augustus were found in Chitaldrug.[2] Karnāṭaka seems to have had commercial dealings even with China, as a brass coin of the Chinese Emperor Han-wa-hi was obtained in the same place.[3] Further the fact of the Kannaḍa identifications of the words obtaining in the Papyrus found at Oxyrhyncus may further elucidate the problem of the close cultural and commercial contact between the West and Karnāṭaka.

A Note:—As we have already observed in these pages the connotation of the word 'Deccan' becomes deceptive, if it is applied to the ancient Karnāṭaka or Mahārāṣṭra, especially in the light of modern circumstances. It is a fact that the Cāḷukyas, Rāṣṭrakūṭas (and partly the Yādavas) ruled over both Mahāraṣṭra and Karnāṭaka (*cf.* Supra). Therefore, naturally, while dealing with many of the religious, social and economic problems of Karnāṭaka we cannot afford to set aside that part of the Mahāraṣṭra province which was under the sway of the Kannaḍa kings.

Exports and Imports [4]

The following products were exported from Karnāṭaka :

Cotton : Karnāṭaka has always been a cotton growing country. Therefore, the remarks made by Periplus,[5] Marco Polo[6] and Tavernier,[7] that cotton and cloth were exported through Bharoach might equally apply to this country.

Indigo: It was exported in 'large quantities' through Gujarat and Thāna both in the thirteenth and the seventeenth centuries A.D.[8]

2. Narasimhacharya, *Karnāṭaka Country*, QJMS. Vol. X, P. 248-258
3. *Ibid*.
4. Dr. Altekar has given a very beautiful survey of the main exports and imports in the time of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. *cf. Rāṣṭrakūṭas and their Times* Pp. 353 ff.
5. Schroff, *Periplus*, P. 39.
6. Marco Polo. II. P. 393.
7. Taverinier's Travels. P. 52.
8. Moreland, *From Akbar to Aurangzeb*, P. 160 ; *Marco Polo*, I I Pp. 393-398.

Incense and Perfumes were exported through Saimur and Thāna.[9] Further we agree with Dr. Altekar when he observes that 'grains like jvāri, bājarī (*Sajjige* in Kannaḍa) and oil-seeds from the upper country; coconuts, betel-nuts and rice from Koṅkaṇ; and sandal, teak and ebony from the Western Ghats and Mysore, must have also been articles of export then.[10]

Metallurgical Products: Periplus[11] mentions that copper formed one of the chief exports through Bharoach. "The traces of more or less extensive workings of copper-mines have been discovered in the districts of Cuddappah, Bellary, Chanda, Budhan, Narasāpur, Ahmadnagar, Bijāpur and Dharwar. Some of them were also in working order in the time of Hyder Ali." [12]

Precious Stones: There were diamond factories at Cuddappah, Bellary, Karnul and the Kṛṣṇa Valley near Golconda (Marco Polo,[13] Ibn Batuta [14] and Tavernier [15]). Besides this, Deogiri, Lokkigandi (Lakkuṇḍi) Hampi, Aihole, Haḷebid, Kalyāṇi and Malkhed must have acted as important markets for the dealings in jewellery. Especially Aihole [16] is described to have been dealing in "large saphires, moon-stones, pearls, rubies, diamonds, lapis lazuli, onxy, topaz, carbuncles, coral, emeralds and other articles." Hoysala King Somes'vara himself is said to have been dealing in pearls and stones.[17]

Tanning Industry: Karnāṭaka must have also exported leather and products of mat-industry.

Elephants: The Gangavāḍi (32,0C0) is always well-known for elephants. And in the present day Mysore has been exporting Elephants to Japan and U. S. A. as a gift from the Prime Minister of India, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru.

9. Elliot, I. P. 87; *Marco Polo*, II, P. 393.
10. Altekar. *Rāṣṭrakūtas and their times*, Pp. 354-5.
11. Schroff, *Periplus*, P. 36.
12. Altekar, *op. cit.*, P. 355.
13. Morco Polo II, P. 360.
14. Sachan, Alberines. India .P 217
15. Tavernier's Travels in India, P. 319.
16. E.C., VII. Sk., 188.
17. *Manasollāsa*, Vrs. 362. 510,

IMPORTS

Elephants were imported by the Kannaḍa Kings from Gauḍades'a.[18] An inscription dated 1188 A.D. informs us that a rich merchant of Arasikere was importing horses in ships by sea and selling them to kings.[19] The horses from Sind, Arabia and Kamboja were famous. According to Periplus the following articles were imported in his time: inferior pearls from the Persian Gulf, dates, gold, slaves, Italian wine in small quantity, copper, tin, lead, topaz, storax, sweet cloves, flint glass, antimony, gold and silver coins, and singing boys and girls for kings."[20] Further, according to Marco Polo, gold, silver and copper used to be imported through Thāna.[21]

PROSPEROUS KARNATAKA

Various inscriptions, the accounts of the foreigners, and the literature of the period speak of the prosperous condition of Karnāṭaka and Mahārāṣṭrā during the period of her independent rule.

Ports: The principle ports (during the historical period) were (1) Bharoach. (Barygaza) which used to export and receive goods coming from China, Sindh and the Persian Gulf;[22] (2) Kalyan (Kalliena): Cosmos Indicopleustes describes it as one of the five important ports trading in cloth, brass and black-wood logs, (under the Rāṣṭrakūṭas). "Navsāri, Sopārā, Thāṇā, Saimur, Dhabhol Jaygad, Deogaḍ and Mālvan were the other minor ports." During the time of the Kadambas, Gopakapaṭṭana was an important trading centre.[23] Further, 'Abdur Razzaq states that in the Vijayanagara times 'there were 300 sea-ports, everyone of which is equal to Kalikot (Calicut)'.[24]

Trading Centres: All the following capitals of the various dynasties ruling in Karnāṭaka must have formed rich trading centres, i.e. Bādāmi, Banavāsi, Haḷebid, Devagiri, Kalyān, Veṅgī,

18. I.A. V. P. 48.
19. E.C. V, Ak. 22.
20. *Periplus*, Pp. 40-42.
21. Morco Polo. II, P. 395: Altekar, *op. cit.* P. 349.
22. Altekar, *op. cit.* P. 358.
23. Moraes, *Kadambakula*, P. 283;
24. E. I. XIII, Pp. 26, 174, 309; B. A. Saletore, *op. cit.* 8. P. 70.

Hampe and others; further Aihole, Arasikere or Southern Aihole Gopakapaṭṭana, Lokkigaṇḍi, the other minor centres like Somanāthapur, Sugandhavarti and the 'good-sized cities' enumerated by Barbosa: 'Mergen (Mirjañ), Honor (Honnāvūru), Baticala (Bhaṭkal), Brecalorel (Basrūr), Mangalore (Mangalore), Cumbola (Kumbḷa)'[25] (*Cf.* also guilds).

Prosperous Karnataka: Thus "cotton, yarn and cloth, both rough and fine, muslin, hides, mats, indigo, incense, perfumes, betelnuts, cocoanuts, sandal and teakwood, sesamum oil and ivory" were the main products of the country. Whereas the village centres were flooded with rich gardens and orchards, the towns on the other hand were busy with the buzz of the merchants from the East and West. To quote an instance, "the capital (Gopakapaṭṭaṇa) was the resort of traders hailing from distant countries such as Pāndya, Kerala, Chanda, Gauda, Bangala, Gurjara, Laṭṭa, Pusta, Srytan, Chendrapur, Sourāstra, Ladda, Konkaṇ. Veimulie, Sangames'var, Chippalons, Shivapur, Pindianna, Vallapatam Sinuhalle, Callah and Zangavar."[26]

Dr. B. A. Saletore has quoted passages from the works of Sarvajna and from the accounts of Paes and other foreign travellers. Here is the description of Domingo Paes: "Now to tell of the aforesaid kingdom (of Vijayanagara). It is a country sparsely wooded except along this serra on the east (*i.e.* of the west of the territory of the Vijayanagara), but in places you walk for two or three leagues under groves of trees; and behind cities and towns and villages they have plantations of mangoes and jackfruit trees, and tamarinds and other very large trees, which form resting-places where merchants halt with their merchandise. These domains are very well cultivated and very fertile, and are provided with quantities of cattle, such as cows, buffaloes and sheep; also of birds,—those belonging to the hills and those reared at home,—and in greater abundance there in our tracts. The land has plenty of rice and Indian-corn, grains, beans and other kind of crops which are not sown in our parts; also an

25. Saletore, *op. cit.* I. P. 43,
26. Moraes, *up. cit.* P. 283.

infinity of cotton."[27] The passages from Sarvajna are also instructive in this connection. With this brief survey we shall now proceed to Roads and Transport.

Roads and Transport: Though the author of the Periplus[28] and Taverinier[29] complain about the non-existence of good roads through the whole of the Deccan, still we might observe that the main trunk roads in Karnāṭaka itself were smooth and in strict repair. An inscription speaks of a trunk-road running from Terdāḻ in the Sangli State to Hāngal in the Dharwar District.[30] The main means of transport were bullock-carts, (as 'Al-Idrisi would have it': 'Chariots drawn by oxen'); or as Barbosa would state (in the Vijayanagar times). "And they carry their goods by means of buffaloes, oxen, asses and ponies and do their field work with these."[31] There were other conveyances, *e.g.* palanquins, elephants, camels, the bull, the horse and carriages.[32]

Food and Drink: Without going into the details of the problem we might mention a few names of the sweetmeats that the people used to enjoy: '*hoḻige, laddu, seekarane uṇḍe*' etc.[33] People had given themselves also to exorbitant habits of meat-eating, drinking, etc. as the item of imports may prove it.

COINS, WEIGHTS AND MEASURES

Coins: As Dr. Altekar observes '*Dramma, Suvarṇa Gadhyāṇaka, Kaḻañju* and *Kāsu* are the principle coins mentioned in the period of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas.[34] In later periods the following names of coins also are available *i.e.*, *Vīsa*[35] *Hāga*,[36] *Paṇa*,[37]

27. Saletore, *Social and Political Life in Vijayanagara*, P. 43.
28. Periplus P. 43.
29. *Ibid*, Chap. II.
30. *Ibid A.*, XIV, P. 24.
31. *Barbosa-Stanley*, P. 85.
32. Sewell, *Forgotten Empire*, P. 55.
33. Rao, *Gangas of Talkad*, P. 285.
34. Altekar, op. cit., P. 364.
35. E. C. VII, Sk. 118.
36. *Ibid*.
37. *Ibid*.

Honnu and *Kâgini*,[38] and *Dharaṇa*.[39] There were gold, silver and copper coins during the period under survey.[40] "The coin of *Gādyâṇaka* was equal to two *Kaḻañjus* and weighed about 96 grains. It was a gold coin equal to the modern eight anna piece. Seven *Kaḷañjus* were equal to the modern eight anna piece. Seven *Kaḷañjus* were equal to 20 Kāsus; a *Kāsu* thus weighed about 15 grains of gold."[41] The other coins *Manjādi* and *Akkam* are also referred to. Sri. Panchamukhi has described in detail the weight of the golden *Gadyāṇakas* obtaining during the different historical periods.[42]

Dr. Altekar gives a table[43] as a further elucidation of the subject regarding the values of various coins:

Name	Metal	Approximate weight	Approximate present value
Dramma	Silver	65 grains or ⅓ tola	About 6 annas.
Dramma	Gold	,,	,, Rs. 7
Kaḷañju	,,	48 grains or ¼ tola	,, Rs. 5
Gadyāṇaka	,,	96 grains or ½ tola	,, Rs. 10
Kāsu	,,	15 grains	,, Re. 1, 10 annas.
Manjādi	,,	2½ grains	,, 4 annas.
Akkam	,,	1¼ grains	,, 2 annas.

The values of other coins may be illustrated thus: *Honnu* is two rupees; *visa* = ¼ of an anna;[44] *Kāgiṇi* (Kākiṇi) = 40 cowries or a *paṇa*.

Prices of Metals: It is rather difficult to ascertain the relative ratio of metals separately, during the different periods of the Karnāṭaka history. However, we may agree with the conclusion of Dr. Altekar when he says 'Since the time of the Nasik Cave

38. *J.B.B.R.A.S.* X, Pp. 258-259,
39. *J.B.B.R.A.S.* XI, P. 257.
40. *Vijayanagara Commemoration Volume*, P. 105.
41. Altekar; *Rāṣṭrakūtas*. P, 366.
42. *Vijayanagara Commemoration Volume*, Pp. 105 ff.
43. Altekar, *Rāṣṭrakūtas*, P. 367.
44. Fleet, *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, X. Pp. 258-9.

inscription,[45] No. 12 (2nd Century A.D.) down to the time of Taverinier[46] (17th Century) the relative prices of these two metals were fairly constant, *viz.* 1 : 15. The ratio before the recent rise in the price of gold was about 1 : 3[47]; copper was five times costlier than now in the seventeenth century.[48]

Measures:—(1) *Grains*: The following grain measures are mentioned in the inscriptions: *Maṇa*, *baḷḷa*, and *sollige Hadaru*;[49] *Koḷagu*[50] (Jakki and Dharma), *Khaṇḍuga*,[51] *pādi*[52] (a small measure). Besides these Dr. Altekar gives the following table of measures.[53]

Old Names	Old Names	Equivalents in lbs. or tolas	Probable equivalents in the present day
5 Sevudu	1 Āṛakku	3¾ tolas	These measures in
2 Āṛakku	1 Uṛakku	7½ tolas	our time were either
2 Uṛakku	1 Uṛi	15 tolas	of the same capacity
2 Uṛi	1 Nāri or Padi	¾ lb.	or perhaps 16 per
8 Nāri	1 Kuruṇi or Marakkal	6 lbs.	cent bigger in each
2 Kuruṇi	1 Padakku	12 lbs.	case in the district
2 Padakku	1 Tūṇi	24 lbs.	of Tanjore.
3 Tūṇi	1 Kalam	72 lbs	

We need not however, go into the details.

Land Measures: The following land measures were current; *Nivartana*[54] (equal to 200 sq. cubits), *Kamma* or *Kamba*.[55] *Matter*,[56] (equal to 100 Kammas).[57]

45. *Carmichael Lectures*, 1921, P. 191.
46. *Ibid.* P. 13.
47. Altekar. *Rasṭrakūtas* P. 367.
48. Moreland, *India at the Death of Akbar*. P. 147.
49. Dinkar Desai *Mahāmandalevaraṣ*, P. 474: Fleet, *J.B.B.R.A.S.* X, P. 238.
50. Desai, *Op., cit.*, *S. I. Epigraphy*, 1914, P. 16. No. 133.
51. *Mysore Archaeological Report, 1928*, Pp. 35 *ff*.
52. *Ibid.*, 1927, P. 133.
53. Altekar, *Rāstrakūtas*, etc. P. 377.
54. Fleet, *J.B.B.R.A.S.*. X. p. 199.
55. *South Indian Epigraphy*, 1915, No. 471.
56. *I.A.* XIX, P. 274.
57. *I.A.* XIX, P. 274; Desai, *op. cit.*, P. 476.

Measuring Poles : The following were important : *Kachchave*,[5] *Agradimba*,[58] *Bherunda*[59] and *Kurdi*[60] ; and in the Vijayanagara times Rājavibhāṇḍan Kōl and Gaṇḍara Gaṇḍan Kōl.

Irrigation and Land

Irrigation and Land : The whole country was welded with trenches and canals e.g. by having embankments on the rivers Kaveri, Tungabhadra, Haridrā, Pālāru, Pennāru, etc. (especially under the Vijayanagara Empire). We have already discussed the topic on 'Land Revenue' and 'ownership of land' in these pages. The Rayatwari and the Mirāsi tenures were in vogue (*cf.* Farming of lands, *cf. supra*. It seems to come fully into existence in the Vijayanagara time). Moreover the 'zamindar class to whom were assigned the royal revenues' also existed. Further as Dr. Altekar observes, the mention of the Grāmapati along with Grāmakūta in some of the records shows that the former was a village holder.[62] However, lands were leased out in the proportion of two to one[63] (probably the one-third share was to remain with the agriculturist). Even whole lands and estates were sometimes leased out on a farming system.[64] Consent of the village assembly was necessary for the sale of any particular piece of land.[56] But later on the system was loosing ground. Further "if a village or land was owned by several co-sharers, no new owner could be introduced except with the consent of the whole body."[66] All the artisans of the village, carpenters, barbers, etc. were assigned a certain grain-share from each farmer, for maintenance and in return of their services.[67] The government revenue was collected both in kind and in cash.

58. E.C. VII, Sk. 14. Rice, Mysore Inscriptions, Pp 147 & 122.
59. *I.A.* IV, p. 279.
60. *E.C.* VII, Sk. 100 & 120.
61. *E.I.* XII. P. 32.
62. Altekar, *Rāstrakūtās*. P. 361.
63. *S.I.I.* III. No. 10.
64. *E.I.* XII, P. 76.
65. *J.B.B.R.A.S.* X, P. 208.
66. *E.I.* XI, P. 192.
67. *E.I.* XI, P. 192; Altekar, *Rāṣṭrakutas* etc., P. 363.

Prices and Cost of Living: We need not go into details in regard to the prices of the various articles including grains and other necessities of life. However, the cost of living then seems to be much lower than what it is now. Dr. Pran Nath,[68] mainly depending upon the two inscriptions, namely, the Sañchi inscription of Chandragupta II [69] (5th century A.D.) and the Ukkal inscription (10th century A.D.), [70] arrived at the wrong conclusion that the prices of living in the tenth century A.D. was seven and a quarter times higher than what it was in the Gupta period. But Dr. Altekar [71] has rightly refuted the point by showing the discrepancy in the mode of argument of Dr. Pran Nath, *viz.* in identifying *Dīnāra* of the Gupta Inscription with the *Kaḷañju* of the other. Further he has proved beyond doubt that "the capital outlay for an ordinary meal in the tenth century A.D. was only 8 *Kaḷañjus*."[72] It should also be noted in this connection that the rates of wages during these times were decent.

GUILDS

The most marvellous fabric of the socio-economic organisation in Karnāṭaka can be said to be its net-work of guilds. If Karnāṭaka can claim a high antiquity, a definite political history from the time of the Sātiyaputtas (referred to in the Aśokan Edicts) or Sātakarṇis, and also a contiguous growth in all the departments of culture, then we shall have to say that it must have maintained this organisations of guilds since very early times. "These guilds used to regulate trade and industry, train apprentices, and do the banking business, not only for their members but also for the public."[73]

Craft and Merchant Guilds: These guilds were of two kinds, *viz.* Craft and Merchant guilds.

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68. Dr. Pran Nath, *A Study in Ancient Indian Economics*, P, 102.
69. S. *I. I*, III. No. 5.
70. *Ibid.* 1.
71. Altekar, *op. cit.* P, 389.
72. *Ibid.* P, 393.
73. *Ibid.* P, 367.

The craft-guilds were formed of various professions. The merchant-guilds were formed mainly of the Vīrabaṇajigas,[74] community of merchants from various provincial centres (*Nānādeśis*). In fact it is stated in an inscription that 'the mercantile community of Henjeru in the Anantpur District was made up of men drawn from all the provinces of Dravidian India, speaking Tamil, Telugu, Kannada and Malayāla.[75] Similarly the one at Venugrāmē consisted of merchants from Gujarat and Kerala.[76] The guilds of Aihole, Miraj and other centres belonged to the Vīrabaṇajiga community.

Craft-Guilds: These were located in various places, *i.e.* Lakṣmesvar, Mulgund, Belgame, Kolhapur and other places. Generally every profession had its own guild. In fact there were guilds of '(a) Betel-leaf sellers, areca-nuts, oil-palanquin bearers, cultivators'[77]; (b) 'Stone-cutters, braziers, carpenters, blacksmiths, goldsmiths, weavers, potters, fruit-sellers, clothiers'[78]; 'milk-men, toddy-drawers, basket-makers, mat-workers'[79]; flower-sellers,[80]; washermen[81]; cotton-dealers, jewellers and perfumers.[82]

Merchant-Guilds: The famous centres of these guilds were Dharwevortālu (Dambal, Dharwar District), Ayyavọle (Modern Aihole) and in the Vijayanagara times, Vijayanagara, Hastināvati, Dorasamudra, Udayagiri, Chandragiri, Aṇṇīgere, Hānaungul, Mangaṭuru, Halasige and about twenty-five more.[83] The community of the Vīrabaṇajigas play a prominent part in these. The functions carried on by these guilds are very well explained in an

74. One of the Lingayat communities. The word is pronounced as Baḷaṇja, Baṇanju or Baṇgunja, Baṇanjiga or Baṇajiga Virabaṇajiga or Virabaṇanja means a strict Baṇajiga,
75. *South Indian Epigraphy*, 1916-17, No. C. 16.
76. *E. I.* XIII P. 26.
77. *I. A*, V, P. 345.
78. Moraes, *Kadambakula*, P. 285.
79. *E. I.* V, P. 23.
80. *E. C.* VII, Sk. 118.
81. *Ibid*, Sk. II.
82. *E. C.* V, P. 23.
83. Saletore. *Social and Political Life in Vijayanagara Empire*, II, p. 134. also of *E C.*, V. II, P. 20; *Ibid*, VIII. Sb. 428 P. 75.

inscription dated A.D. 1150 :[84] "(The Baṇajigas) after visiting the Cera, Coḷa, Pāṇḍya, Malaya, Magadha, Kauśala, Saurāṣṭra, Dhanurāṣṭra, Kurumbha, Kāmboja, Gauda, Lāṭa, Barbhara, Pārasa, Nepala, Ekapāda, Lambakarṇa, Strīrājya, Ghoṭāmukha and many other centres...........; with superior elephants, well-breed horses, large sapphires, moon-stones, pearls, rubies, diamonds, lapis lazuli, onyx, topaz, carbuncles, coral, emeralds (Karkketane), and various such articles, cardamoms, cloves, sandal, camphor, musk, saffron, *malegaju* and other perfumes and drugs by selling which wholesale or in retail on their shoulders, preventing the loss by customs duties, they fill up the emperor's treasury of gold, his treasury of jewels, and his armoury of weapons."

Extent of Area : The extent of area over which these guilds exercised their jurisdiction was in many cases very wide. In fact the guild at Mulgund had a jurisdiction over 360 towns.[85] An inscription (1083 A.D.) at Belgāmē [86] refers to a guild which had its offices in 18 towns. The Nidgundi inscription [87] refers to an organisation of 505 merchants. Further the famous guild of Aihoḷe consisted of 505 svamis, the Nānādesis, the settis, etc. [88]

THEIR CONSTITUTION

The constitution of these various guilds varied according to their profession and extent of work.

Staff : *Head of Departments* :—The guild at Laksmesvar had only one head, whereas the guild at Mulgund had four. Further the guilds at Belgāmē and Miraj had an executive of nine and fifteen respectively (*cf.* also Yājñavalkya, I. 189 and Nītivākyāmṛta).

The head of the larger guilds was usually the Paṭṭaṇas'eṭṭi or *Svāmi*, who was also the town-mayor. He was many a time a *Vaḍḍa-vyavahāri* [89] (senior merchant). Sometimes this office was

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84. Saletore, *op. cit.* P. 99.
85. *J. B. B. R. A. S.* X. P. 192.
86. *E. C.* VII. Sk, 118.
87. *E. I.* XII. P. 12.
88. *S. I. Epigraphy*, 1919, No. 216, Pp. 18.
89. *E. I.* XIII. P. 26

conferred upon him by a government servant.[90] He was a personality of great importance and influence in government. The guild of Makhara-parivarī and Mumuri Daṇḍa however offered the post to *Muddayya Daṇḍanāyaka*.[91] Besides the *Paṭṭanaśeṭṭi*, we hear of another dignitary called the *Mahā-Prabhu* especially in the Vijayanagara times.[92]

Their functions: The guilds used to hold general meetings and decide matters concerning their affairs.[93] They 'celebrated festivals, constructed temples, made endowments[94] and patronized scholarship.[95] They also arranged fairs[96] (*sante*) ಸಂತೆ.

As Judges: The guilds framed their own laws (*samayas*). In the case of craft-guilds they had to discharge their civil functions in conjunction with the headman.[97] And those who disobeyed were severely dealt with. The guild at Aihoḷe had the privilege 'of binding the enemy's hand as a badge on a pole and parade about.'[98] The Vīra Pāñchālas of Terakaṇāmbi had framed a regulation: '(One) who destroys this charter is put out of the Pāñchālas, out of his trade, out of the assembly and out of the Nād.'[99] Moreover the guilds used to issue edicts (Belgāmē had issued 500 edicts). The guild of Dambal had its own chowries and umbrellas. The guild at Belgāmē, Kolhāpur and Aihoḷe had their own banners (*Dhvajas*).[100] Moreover the members of the Dambal guild were also the 'Masters of Aihoḷe', on account of the fact that it had lent money to the king and that a mortgage most probably seems to have been effected. Besides, the guilds

90. *E. C.* X. Pp. 23, 154.
91. *E. C.* V. Bl.75, P. 63.
92. *E.* C. I. Ki. 73. Pp. 19-20.
93. *I.* A. X. P. 185.
94. *E.* C. V, P. 21.
95. *E. C.* VII, Sk. 118.
96. *E.* C. X, Bp. 72, P. 152.
97. Fleet, *J. B. B. R.* A. S. X, P. 283.
98. *E. C.* VII, Sk.
99. *E.* C. IV, Gn. 34, P. 42. text, P. 106. *op. cit.*
100. Belgame and Kolhapur guilds had the flag with the device of a hill-mark and that at Aihole was termed as '*Niruddha-guḍḍa* E. C, V, Part I, Bl, 175, P. 103.

had their own militia (Aihoḷe, Dambaḷ and Miraj) which fact is corroborated even by the accounts of Taverinier.[101]

Banking Business: They also used to do banking business and manage the various endowments for charitable purposes.

Rates of Interest: Dr. Altekar [102] gives a table of the existing rates of interest. The rates were almost the same during the historical period except in the Vijayanagara times when they were rather exorbitant.

TABLE OF THE CURRENT RATES OF INTEREST

Interest on permanent deposits	...	12 to 15 per cent
,, to Debtors of good credit	...	20 to 24 ,, ,,
,, to ,, ,, ordinary credit	...	30 ,, ,,
,, to ,, ,, bad credit	...	40 to 50 ,, ,,
Interest on capital invested in landed property	...	20 to 25 ,, ,,
Interest on corn given by village communities	...	25 to 50 ,, ,,

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101. Taverinier. P. 334.
102. Altekar, *Rāṣṭrakūtas*, P. 386.

THE THIRD INVASION OF THE PESHWA MADHAVA RAO I AGAINST MYSORE 1769-1770

BY NARAYANA RAO GONDKER, M.A.

(*Continued from Vol.* XXXIX *No.* 2 *Page* 116).

THE ENGLISH DISAPPOINT HAIDAR

THIS reluctance of the English and their ultimate refusal at a late stage of the war to aid Haidar, caused great disappointment and annoyance to him. It is very doubtful whether Haidar would have agreed to a treaty with the English in 1769, if he knew that they did not intend to help him against the Marāṭhas. At that time, Haidar had, as he pointed out to the English, two alternatives before him—either a permanent peace with the Marāṭhas against the English, in which case he would have to agree to the payment of an annual sum to them and also to acquiesce in the Marāṭha occupation of the territories beyond Sirā to the north of his kingdom ; or, to a peace with the English with whose aid he could resist the aggressions of the Marāṭhas and extend his kingdom northward. But Haidar's several encounters with the Marāṭhas must have convinced him of the difficulty of any success against them. His ambitions of territorial conquest towards the north were thwarted by the great power of the Marāṭhas. This should have persuaded him to compromise with the Marāṭhas and to plan territorial conquest towards the south-east and the south. The territory of Mohammed Ali of Arcot who was a mortal enemy of Haidar, would be most tempting to Haidar; and his early experience of affairs in the south of Mysore ought to have indicated to him the comparative ease of extending his dominion towards that direction. His recent war against the English had not given him an idea of the full strength of the English. Thus all circumstances at the time were in favour of a permanent alliance with the Marāṭhas and a plan of conquest in the south-east and the south. Having realised the need for making permanent friendship with one of the two powers, namely, the Marāṭhas and the English, Haidar would certainly have made an alliance with the former not

only because it was more profitable, but because it was the more natural course to adopt, if only he had the slightest hope that the Marāṭhas could be relied upon to pursue a consistent and moderate policy. But, since he had no confidence in the policy of the Marāṭha statesmen whose very approach to the political problems was regulated not by real understanding of the potentialities of the situation, but by expediency and greed for wealth and territory; Haidar ultimately preferred an alliance with the English in 1769. If the Marāṭhas were wise they would have won him over by moderate and reasonable demands and used him against the Nizam, Mohammed Ali and the English. It was only later in 1779 that the Marāṭhas realised the need for making a really reasonable approach to these problems and made a treaty with Haidar against the English by making substantial concessions to him. Unfortunately, however, that union did not last long because of the death of Haidar in 1782.

If Haidar had known beforehand that the English would not join him, it is very doubtful whether Haidar would have involved himself in a long war against the Marāṭhas in 1769. The two previous wars with Peshwa Mādhavrao had sufficiently shown to Haidar, the superiority of the former in regard to resources. He could not, therefore, have expected to gain victories against the Marāṭhas and he would very probably have made an early peace with them this time. But since he believed that the English might send help to him according to the treaty, he continued the war with the Marāṭhas expecting to receive English help at some stage or other when at a late stage the English declared their intention not to send him any help. This unexpected betrayal and consequent disappointment to Haidar, put an end to the prospects of an Anglo-Mysore alliance permanently.

THE PESHWA ADVANCES
JANUARY 1770.

The Peshwa, after crossing the river Tungabhadra at some distance from Koppal, moved rapidly towards the south through the Chitradurga region and reached the Mysore frontier early in January 1770. Budihal (16 miles south-east of Hosdurga town

in Chitradurga District) was first taken and garrisoned.[49] Next, moving southward, the Marāṭhas attacked Chiknāyakanhalli (Tumkur District) and collected a sum of Rs. 1,35,000 and placed a garrison there. Similarly Handikere (Handankere ?), Kandikere, Hāgalawadi and Turuvekere, all in the same district were occupied without any considerable difficulty.[50] Marching further towards Srirangapatna the Marāṭhas occupied Bellur (Nāgamangala Taluk,) and on about the 2nd February, reached Nāgamangala (39 miles north of Mysore), which was razed to the ground.[51]

Wilk's statement (P. 688) that the Peshwa occupied "all the posts in the districts of Cuddoor, Banavar, Hassan and Belur" is wrong. The Peshwa never occupied these places during this campaign. On the other hand, Haidar was himself stationed with his army in those regions during the month of March, and from there he went to Srirangapatna.

The Marāṭhas were forced to destroy many places taken because they could not afford to render a large number of the troops inactive by placing garrisons in many places. Usually those places which refused to pay the tribute or those which were too big for being maintained by a small number of troops were being destroyed.

Early in February the Peshwa sent a force of about 3,000 men under Mahimāji Shinde to occupy Gurramkonda.[52]

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49. Khare. IV. 861 ; S. P. D. Vol. XXXVII, No. 190.

50. Khare. IV. 855, 864 ; and S. P. D. Vol. XXXVII No. 190.

51. Khare. IV. 878 and 879 ; and S. P. D. Vol. XXXVII, Nos. 194 and 195.

N. K. Sinha's statement (Haidar Ali, P. 161) that the Peshwa reached Nagamangala on 13th February is wrong, for the letter No. 879 in Khare IV clearly states that he reached the place on about the 2nd February. Further his statement that the Peshwa was accompanied by the ruler of Chitradurga and Murārao, is also incorrect, for, while it is true in regard to the former, the latter, that is Murarao joined the Peshwa only by about 23rd of February at Devanhalli, as will be shown hereafter.

In the same page 161, Dr. Sinha mentions Belur being garrisoned by the Marāṭhas. It was Bellur (Nagamangala Taluk) that was taken and not Belur which refers to another place in Hassan District.

52. Khare. IV. 787.

Haidar's Counter Measures

This advance of the Marāṭhas into the State territory by a different route than that expected, disappointed Haidar, but did not dishearten him. He knew the Marāṭhas too well to feel alarmed at the temporary occupation of some parts of his territory by the enemy. Srirangapatna and Bangalore, the two important places in the State had no chance of falling to the enemy within the rainy season, by which time, they would prepare themselves to return as was their usual custom. However, in order to slacken their advance, Haidar opened negotiations with them through Appāji Rām and Reza Ali Khan.[53] The Peshwa demanded one crore of rupees, while "Haidar in answer to these exorbitant demands observed, that he was a soldier of fortune, and possessed no treasure but his sword; that his territory had been too recently ravaged and his treasury exhausted by Madoo Row himself, to admit the possibility of complying with such unreasonable expectations; but that if twelve lakhs would satisfy him for the present, he would endeavour to collect it."[54] The two envoys of Haidar spent some considerable time in these discussions in the Peshwa's camp and finally after Haidar's treacherous attack against Gopālrao on the 25th of February, they were asked to quit the Marāṭha camp.[55] The peace talks thus came to an end. Reza Ali did not stay in the Marāṭha camp as Wilks states—but he returned to Haidar and from there he tried to flee, according to Peixoto (P. 133). However, Haidar is said to have persuaded him to stay on.

Apart from peace talks, Haidar tried other tactics to counteract the Marāṭha offensive and to hinder their progress. He spread rumours of an offensive towards the Savaṇur region and northward. He even moved upto very near Savaṇur, but soon returned to his original camp.[56] His son Tippu was sent with three to four

53. S. P. D. Vol. XXXVII No. 192.
54. Wilks. P. 687. The amount of twelve lakhs of rupees was offered by Haidar not at an early period as Wilks assumes but at a late stage when the Marāṭhas had occupied considerable portion of the Mysore territory. Earlier, before the Peshwa invaded, the envoys had offered Forty lakhs to the Marāṭhas as stated earlier in this paper.
55. Khare. IV. No. 934.
56. *Ibid.*, 858, 860, 861 and 862.

thousand troops to strengthen the defence of the capital and of Bangalore.[57] He was instructed "to order all the straw and wood that could be gatherd to be gathered and what could not be set on fire, to fill up wells and ponds and to send word to the people in the villages to retire into the capital city" (Peixoto —P. 122). Tippu, while on his way to the capital seems to have been engaged by the enemy, and being pursued, he entered into the fort of Māgadi, where he was besieged by them. But shortly afterwards the siege was raised and he proceeded further.[58] It was on the receipt of this news of the siege of Tippu in the fort of Māgadi, that, late in January 1770, Haidar moved from Udagaṇi with the object of diverting the attention of the Marāṭhas who were heading towards the capital, marched through Basavāpatna and reached Chennagiri.[59] From there he went southward to Tarikere early in February, and ordered the rest of his troops left at Udagaṇi to join him without baggage.[60] Peixoto (P. 125) states that his own detachment arrived at Tarikere on the 14th morning. Soon after the movement of this force from Udagaṇi, there was a revolt in that place which was severely put down.[61]

The march of Haidar widened the gap between his and Gopālrao's troops; and the territory of Chitradurga and the

57. Khare. 858, 861, 864 and 868.

58. Peixoto. P. 124

59. Khare, IV. No, 868.

60. Dr. N. K. Sinha's account of these movements of Haidar, in his book Haidar Ali, P. 162 reveals a very superficial study of the original Marathi letters. He states—"Haidar was in the eastern part of his dominions at Udagaṇi. Thence he went to Turuvekere." But actually neither was Haidar in the eastern part, nor is Udagaṇi in the eastern part. Haidar was, of course at Udagaṇi, which however, is in the west in Shikarpur Taluk of the Shimoga Dist. From there he went to Tarikere in the Kadur District and not to Turuvekere which is in the Tumkur District. At page 163 also Dr. Sinha states "One day he (Haidar) fell back from Turuvekere." Here again it ought to be Tarikere. All this shows that the author did not take sufficient care to study all the relevant Marāṭhi letters in Khare's Lekha Saṁgraha, on which he depends. By an attempt to locate the different places or following the routes adopted by Haidar and the Marāṭhas, such mistakes would have been avoided.

61. It is perhaps this event that is mentioned in *Haidarnāma* at P. 83.

Mysore region south of it which had been recently occupied by the Peshwa, being within easy reach of Haidar, lay open to his attacks without the fear of his being attacked by Gopālrao from the rear. Consequently Gopālrao now moved southward to Harihar (30 *cos.* from Tarikere) to reduce the gap and to continue the guarding of the occupied territory against Haidar's attacks.[62]

THE MARATHAS MOVE NORTH-EAST
February 1770.

The Peshwa who had advanced towards the capital upto Nāgamangala, gave up his plan of besieging Srirangapatna or Bangalore, for, he would be unable to finish the task before the rainy season. He, therefore, decided to take possession of as large a territory as possible except the bigger places, expecting Haidar to come to terms [63] by then for fear of loss of revenue from such a large area. From Nāgamangala the Peshwa took a north-easterly route to occupy the eastern part of the State around Bangalore, which included Māgadi, Chikballapur and Kolar regions.[64] By this time the chief of Chitradruga had come and joined the Peshwa with a force of 3,000 foot and some horse.

The main army of the Peshwa which had moved north-east, besieged Bhairavadurga. This place put up a stout resistance and on about the 11th February, it was stormed and taken.[65] The town was completely plundered and a garrison of 400 *gāradis* was stationed there.

HAIDAR STRIKES BACK

The Peshwa's rapid march southward had by now created a considerable gap of territory between his own force and that of Gopālrao despite the latter's march southward upto Harihar. The Peshwa had, of course, made arrangements for holding this territory and keeping up his communication by leaving garrisons in some of the places. But these

62. Khare IV. 870.-873. 875.
63. *Ibid.* 864.
64. *Ibid.* 884.
65. S. P. D. Vol. XXXVII. No. 196; and Khare. IV. 873.

arrangements being naturally of a temporary nature, it was easy for Haidar, not only to attack and re-capture his lost places but also to threaten the Marāṭha strongholds of Sirā and Madgiri. Such a course would either arrest the march of the Peshwa towards the capital and Bangalore, or it would force Gopālrao to give up his watch over Haidar and go southward to protect the places taken by the Peshwa. However, Haidar was not yet in a position to evacuate the north-western part of his State and retire to the protection of his capital, for, just as the Marāṭhas had the fear of their communications from behind being cut off, Haidar had the fear of Bednur being attacked by Gopālrao, if he should march southward. It was, therefore, that he planned for the present, to stay where he was and send detachments to attack isolated places garrisoned by the Marāṭhas and to threaten Sirā; and later when this plan was found to be inadequate, he tried to surprise and destroy the main camp of Gopālrao himself. The high order of Haidar's generalship revealed itself in everyone of these movements of his.

According to the former plan, Haidar sent two detachments, one to re-capture places like Chiknāyakanhalli and others which were not properly garrisoned by the Marāṭhas; and the other, under Mir Reza to raid the Marâṭha territory around Sirā and to go further and protect Gurramkonda in the east from being occupied by the Marāṭhas. The former of the two detachments accomplished its task without much difficulty on about the 10th February 1770. [66] The Marāṭha officer there by name Naro Khanderao is said to have harassed the people by demanding money.[67] Those people conspired with Haidar's force and on a certain night about 3,000 of Haidar's men were allowed into the fort, and of the small number of the Marāṭhas who were there, some were killed, some fled and the rest were taken to Tarikere where on the 17th February.[68] Haidar punished them by cutting off their ears and noses. This event so frightened the Marāṭha garrisons at Handikere and Kandīkere, that they also left the places and fled.

66. S. P. D. Vol, XXXVII No. 196; also Khare. IV. Nos. 871, 887, 892 and 893.

67. Khare. IV, 895.

68. Peixoto P. 126.

Immediately after hearing about the attack, the Peshwa sent 3,000 horses under Narasingarao Dhāyagude, Shāhji Bhonsle, Akkalkotkar and Mahimāji Shinde towards Chiknāyakanhalli. Gopālrao was also ordered to move from Harihar to Mathod (Hosdurga Taluk, Chitaldrug District). Accordingly Gopālrao moved on to Mathod. On the approach of their troops, Haidar's troops vacated all the places they had recently occupied. These places, not being of sufficient importance for being maintained at great cost and the troops too being insufficient for garrisoning them, Gopālrao ordered the demolition of the forts of Chiknāyakanhalli, Kandīkere, Handīkere and Turuvekere. He, however, continued to stay at Mathod.[69]

Mir Reza who had been asked to divert the Marāṭhas, started from Tarikere on about the 3rd or 4th February,[70] and invested Sirā; but being repulsed there by its Killedar Mukundarao, he plundered Buckāpatna in the same taluk. There again he was driven out by Sajo Shyāmāji,[71] whereupon he engaged in plundering smaller places around there. Finally, marching southeast, he went to Devarāyadurga (9 miles, east of Tumkur) which was 18 *cos* from the main Marāṭha camp. The Marāṭhas now sent a force of about 8,000 men under Malhārrao Pānse against Mir Reza.[72] But Mir Reza refused to be drawn to a fight and escaped to Gudibanda (Kolar District) on his way to Gurramkonda. In the last week of February, Mir Reza was still campaigning in the woods of Chikballapur.[73] By now the Peshwa recalled Mahimāji Shinde on other duty at Chiknāyakanhalli, and sent Ragho Bapuji and Anandrao Gōpal with a force of 5,000 towards Gurramkonda, which place they plundered and destroyed during the next month. Mir Reza seems to have withdrawn from his task of protecting Gurramkonda and he probably joined Tippu at Bangalore in the first week of March,[74]

69. Khare III. Introduction P. 1390.
70. *Ibid.* IV. 893.
71. *Ibid.*
72. *Ibid.* 872.
73. *Ibid.* 900.
74. *Ibid.* 914.

in order to take more effective steps to obstruct the progress of the Peshwa who was garrisoning more and more places.

THE MARATHAS TAKE MAGADI AND CHIKBALLAPUR
February and March 1770.

Despite the above attempts of Haidar and Mir Reza to divert the Marāṭha forces and obstruct their progress, Mādhavrao's march continued unabated. After the fall of Bhairavdurga on the 11th February, he moved on to Māgadi, where a part of his force was already conducting the siege. This place fell after a short period of resistance.[75] Thence he moved to the north of Bangalore on his way to Chikballapur and Kolar. On about the 23rd of February, Murārrao Ghorpade ignoring the threats of Haidar against joining the Peshwa, arrived and joined the Peshwa's army at Devanhally.[76] Next, the Marāṭha force attacked the important town of Chikballapur[77] (36 miles north-west of Kolar). Since it was a strong and important fort to the north of Bangalore, the siege was expected to continue for a considerable period. The Peshwa took active part in the operations. But the town resisted only for a couple of days and surrendered. A strong garrison was left at this place under Jānrao Dhulap.[78]

HAIDAR MAKES A SURPRISE ATTACK AGAINST GOPALRAO
(End of February)

From the above account it is clear that Haidar had failed to stem the tide of Marāṭha success in the Bangalore region. But very shortly he succeeded in giving a good taste of his surprise tactics, by making a very rapid and unexpected march to make a

75. Khare. IV. 885, 886 and 893.

76. *Ibid.* IV. 903.

77. Chikballapur was annexed by Haidar in 1762 and the chief of that place was imprisoned. But during the Peshwa's invasion the chief seems to have secretly negotiated with the Peshwa for being reinstated. Letter No. 211 in S.P.D. Vol. XXXVII states that the agreement was actually made between the Peshwa and the chief according to which the latter was to be reinstated and the Peshwa was to receive *Nazar* and annual tributes.

78. *S. P. D.* Vol. XXXVII No. 197; also *Khare*. IV. 912, 926 and 934.

sudden attack against Gopālrao near Budihāl. As per instructions from the Peshwa, Gopālrao had all this time been vigilantly watching the movements of Haidar and following him wherever he went, from a safe distance. So long as Haidar remained in the woody regions, Gopālrao was to make no attempts to engage him, but he was merely to safeguard the line of communications to the main army; but, if Haidar came out of the woods and entered the plains, he was to inform the same to the Peshwa and the two together were to engage Haidar. But Haidar showed himself to be more cautious and cunning than the Marāṭhas. So long as the two important places, namely, Srirangapatna and Bangalore were safe there was no need for him to come out into the plains and risk an open engagement with the vast Marāṭha army. The Marāṭhas were, of course, taking possession of a large territory; but the rainy season was nearing and he thought that the Marāṭhas, as was their usual practice, would voluntarily abandon all the territory taken and return home, if he offered a small sum. He had, therefore, stayed in the Bednur region for a considerable period. But Gopālrao was under the impression that since the Peshwa had gone eastward towards Chikballapur, leaving open the route to the capital, Haidar would not lose this opportunity of making his escape and taking refuge under the protection of his capital. Therefore, when Haidar moved from Tarikere to Sakrepatna on the evening of the 21st February,[79] Gopālrao thought that he was really marching to his capital. To fool him further, Haidar deliberately set afloat rumours that he would go to Srirangapatna. At Sakrepatna Haidar and his force had halted for a couple of days and the troops were ordered to be alert to start at short notice and to take with them victuals for four meals. The march and attack are described by Peixoto (Pp. 126-9) in the following words: "On the 24th at 11 o'clock in the forenoon we began to march and encamp at Garedrugo [80] 6 leagues distant, where we arrived at 9 o'clock at night...........the Nawab sent various persons to the Marāṭha's camp to get all the notice he wanted......On the 26th they returned and halted at a little fort

79. Khare. IV. 901

80. Garedrugo is probably Garudangiri 7 miles north-east of Banāvar.

in the kingdom of Mencur,[81] arriving there past midnight......... when the Nawab dismounted he sent for me, for Captain Peter Manoel who commanded the battalion of the Van Guard, and for other captain a Portuguese Mustea, John Ferreiro who also commanded a battalion of Grenadiers, and to all he recommended good orders and disposition on entering the Marāṭha's camp promised presents and augmentation of pay, determined that my company of Europeans should march in its place of the Van Guard, the battalion of Peter Manoel instantly after it, divided into four platoons and John Ferreiro with his battalion on the left at an equal distance, and also divided into 4 platoons; eight field pieces to the right of the Europeans, followed by 700 rocket boys commanded by a Brahmin called Igle Chamerao...........in the rear came the rest of the battalions which were 11 in number and the Nawab along with them in the rear of those came the cavalry—and in the rear of all the General of Redrugo with his troops at the distance of 1,500 paces, all with lighted flambeaux, all very well united and formed in battle, with the colours flying, as well those of the Infantry as those of the 3 elephants who were with the Van Guard, one on the right, the other on the left and the third in the centre, they marched very slow with the band artillery which were 16 small pieces, as soon as those people, who were destined for attack, were perceived by the enemy, who were beating to arms, they only seeked to retreat, leaving the camp barracks and many of the worst horses and waited for daylight to see if they could remedy the loss they sustained, as soon as the entrance into the camp was gained the 8 field pieces as fast as possible and the rocket boys to throw their rockets......... but of nothing the effect could be seen on account of the great darkness and it was only known that it was upon the enemys camp for we found ourselves already amongst the tents, on the first discharge of our artillery that Nawab had ordered all the flambeaux to be lighted, and marched with great haste to the two advanced battalions, which were so confused, without having any

81. The little fort probably refers to Kadur because letter No. 901 in Khare IV states that Haidar's force was at Kadur on the day previous to the attack.

opposition at all, that they certainly would have been surrounded and lost. Day came on and when we could hardly discern the camp as yet, the enemys horse were found within less than pistol shot of our advanced battalions on which Austin de Menezes, Commander of the artillery ordered 5 field pieces to play as fast as possible and charged them with 3 platoons, one of Europeans, which animated the other 2 platoons of grenadiers of the Battalion of Peter Manoel and made the enemy retreat, at the same time the Nawab arrived, and found battle in the same manner as he hath marched, gave orders for the whole artillery to fire by elevation which was executed, and the enemy retired out of reach of our shot, fronting up until we retired, some dispersed cavalry made show of attacking us, but they were always charged and some of them lost their lives. The camp was robbed and the Nawab hath no intention to detain himself, but finding that the troops, besides the fatigue they hath undergone on the march, were ambitious of robbing, would disperse themselves on the march and that the enemy was observing every motion and that he would not lose the occasion, if there was any, to take satisfaction, therefore he resolved they should rest themselves till 4 o'clock in the afternoon, ordered the whole to make a circle facing the enemy, in the middle of which he ordered a small tent to be pitched.........and ordered they should eat what they hath without delay which was executed. The time was come to retire he disposed the troops."

The Marāṭha version is slightly different from the above one in some respects. A detailed description of this engagement is given in Gopālrao's letter (Khare IV. 901) of 27th February to Moro Ballal. According to this version, Haidar went to Sakrepatna from Tarikere on the 21st February and stayed there for three days. The Marāṭha patrols were going on their rounds for several miles from the Marāṭha camp towards the camp of the enemy as far as Ajjampur on the route to Tarikere. But on the 24th February, Haidar secretly set out and came to Kadur leaving behind him a rumour that he had marched to Srirangapatna. The Marāṭha patrols who went their round as usual on that day were told by people who were probably specially appointed by Haidar, that the

latter had gone to his capital. The Marāṭhas having been in expectation of the same, easily believed the news, and they slackened their vigilance. On Sunday the 25th,[82] it being a New Moon Day, Haidar marched from Kadur with a force of twelve to thirteen thousand *gāradīs*, 4000 horses and 25 guns, during the whole night and came near the Marāṭha camp, in the early hours of the morning. This news of Haidar's intended attack was actually conveyed to Gopālrao by a Muslim *gāradī* of Haidar's army who had earlier served under Bālājirao Peshwa and who therefore felt bound to help the Marāṭhas now. Gopālrao could not altogether trust this *sepoy* and order his whole force to be ready to meet the attack, but he kept four platoons of horse ready for the emergency. As soon as Haidar's force appeared near the camp, Gopālrao ordered alarm to be given to the whole camp by the beating of the *naubat* or the drum, and, with a few men, he took his stand right in front of his camp directly facing the enemy. In a short time the different *Sardars* including Parashuram Bhau the cousin of Gopālrao, Mādhavrao Krishna Patwardhan Mangalwedekar another cousin, and, the rest of the troops came and joined Gopālrao in front of the camp. All this while, Haidar's troops directed severe fire from the guns and shot the rockets against the front of the Marāṭha camp from where they were hearing the sound of the *naubat* but could not see anything because of pitch darkness. They thought that the whole of the Marāṭha army had assembled there and that without driving them away, it would not be possible to enter their camp. Gopālrao and his followers made a very determined stand in the face of direct fire from the enemy.

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82. Regarding these dates there is some slight difference between the dates given by Peixoto and those stated in Marathi letters. According to the former (P. 126) Haidar marched from Tarikere to Sakrepatna on the 19th February and after a halt of 4 or 5 days, they marched to Garedrugo (Garudangiri) on the 24th. The attack was made on the night of 26-27 (P. 127). But according to the letter No. 901 in Khare IV the attack was made on the night of 25-26 which happened to be a New Moon Day. This latter date seems to be correct.

83. According to Peixoto (P. 129) Haidar's force consisted of 6000 infantry and 2000 cavalry besides the artillery.

A good number of their horses were shot dead. Mādavarao Krishna Patwardhan was wounded. Four horses ridden by Parashuram Bhau were shot dead one after the other. The firing continued for nearly 2 to 2½ hours. The Marāṭhas, however, had no guns with them. Nor were they organised for a charge. Therefore, they made a resolute stand and in the meanwhile the whole of the camp equipment, the wardrobe, the tents and other articles were removed from behind to a place near Budihāl, 3 *cos* from the camp. Thus by the time of day-break the camp had been cleared except for a few things only which were also set fire to. Then the Marāṭha force withdrew and took protection at a brook nearby. During the day Haidar's troops occupied the site of the original Marāṭha camp. Haidar expected the Marāṭha horse to attempt a charge against his troops and he ordered his *gāradīs* who had formed themselves into a sort of bastion to make a simultaneous and vigorous fire against the Marāṭha horse if they should charge. Accordingly one or two charges of the Marāṭhas were repelled with severe losses, and therefore, Gopālrao ordered them not to make any more sallies. Haidar stayed in his place until about the evening and the Marāṭhas too were defending the road by which their camp had moved. Thereafter, Haidar marched towards Kadur and the Marāṭhas too retired to their new camp at Budihāl.

The above two accounts, namely, that of Peixoto and the Marāṭhas are substantially the same, except that, regarding the immediate effect of the attack, Peixoto is rather vague. He states (P. 127) that "......as soon as those people, who were destined for the attack were perceived by the enemy, who were beating to arms, they only seeked to retreat, leaving the camp barracks and many of the worst horses." But this is partly contradicted by what he says further—that "......but of nothing the effect could be seen on account of the great darkness;" and further that, "day came on and when we could hardly discern the camp as yet, the enemys horse were found within less than pistol shot of our advanced battalions....." These statements confirm the fact that the Marāṭhas did not retreat immediately,

but boldly stood up until day-break by which time their camp equipment had been moved to a safer place.

The Marāṭhas lost 200 horses, killed and some more captured, a few people killed and many tents and utensils taken by the enemy.[84] This loss was nothing considering the circumstances in which the Marāṭhas had to face the enemy. Goplārao Patwardhan fully justified his reputation as a brave and capable general. At very great personal risk, he had rallied together his forces to make a stand and saved the entire camp from falling into the hands of Haidar. But for his decision to place himself and his men between the camp and the enemy, Haidar would undoubtedly have succeeded in scattering the force which was entirely unprepared and unorganised. Such an event would have seriously affected the plan of campaign of the Marāṭhas and it would have even jeopardised the chances of retreat of Mādhavrao.

After this adventure, the Marāṭhas were reinforced by the troops of Narasingrao Dhāyagudi and Shāhji Bhonsle. They stayed at Budihāl for a short time after which, in the first week of March, they moved eastward to Hāgalawādi (Gubbi taluk) on the route to Sirā via Hallyāl and Kandīkere (Chiknayakanhalli taluk) in order to keep a good distance from Haidar's force. The places that they left, namely, Budihāl, Hallyāl and Kadaba (town in Gubbi taluk) were destroyed so that their enemy might not make use of them. Near Hāgalwādi they stayed until the last week of March.

(To be concluded.)

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84. Peixoto. P. 129.

FRENCH EPISODE IN THE HISTORY OF THE CITY OF MADRAS

(It happened 200 years ago)

By V. Srinivasan, M.A., A.I.I.B.

We are just on a notable bi-centenary, since it was on September 2, 1749 that Madras passed from the hands of the French who had captured it about three years earlier and could not, however, retain it. The events of the time are recorded in the interesting diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai, the famous Dubash of Dupleix.

It was the time of the war of the Austrian Succession and the time when George II's armies made the British name blaze with glorious success in three continents. There were repurcussions in South India too but only at a late stage of the conflict. Though the war began in 1740 Ananda Ranga Pillai recorded it as late as August 29, 1746 that Madras was still fortunate, the differences between Dupleix and M. Desmartes having helped to save it.

French Privateer Captain Captures City

It was left for a French privateer captain, La Bourdonnais from St. Malo to capture Madras in September 1746. Though the operation was not sanctioned by the Pondicherry authorities, the seizure of Madras was welcome and Ananda Ranga Pillai's diary contains an interesting account of how the event was celebrated at Pondicherry. Dupleix went to the Church and rendered thanks to God. There were decorations and illuminations besides entertainment on a lavish scale. The French Governor ordered the distribution of sugar and the diarist also says that he was asked to demand a boon and the opportunity was availed of to secure promise of a reprieve for some debtors and offenders then undergoing imprisonment.

Madras was considered to be the favourite and the most well-behaved settlement in India and its loss caused no small chagrin in Leaden Hall Street. But Madras had no strong administration

then and Governor Morse was not noted for courage and initiative. A part only of the town was fortified and that with a rampart which La Bourdonnais compared to a garden wall. The place itself with but two villages did not contain many inhabitants and the Europeans who alone could be relied on for its defence hardly exceeded 300 among whom 200 were soldiers. It was only in 1746 that some peons were recruited to the army and the first step taken to form a sort of infantry (although a corps appears to have been recruited earlier in Bombay). The loss of the town was not therefore surprising.

Rendition of Madras

It was indeed a bad time for the English factors in the peninsula but the tide soon turned and the French had to return Madras City to the British after the conclusion of the treaty of Aix-la-chapelle which ended the war in Europe. It was the proud privilege of Admiral Boscawen to receive back the city and hoist his flag on August 21, 1749 Old Style, corresponding to September 1, New Style.[1] Though exact details of the rendition are lacking, the Madras despatches to London excerpted in H. D. Love's *Vestiges of Old Madras* show that the event occasioned universal joy in Madras. Ananda Ranga Pillai's diary recording the reports of the events as received in Pondicherry shows that Brahmans did *puja*, cocoanuts were broken, sheep sacrificed and various other Tamil ceremonies performed before the flag was hoisted in Fort St. Geroge. We also learn that the English on entering the place proclaimed by the beat of tom tom that five years assessment of lands, taxes on the

1. Only a passing mention need be made of the failure of Lally. It is a strange commentary on French Policy of that time that Lally as in the case of La Bourdonnais became suspect in the eyes of Frenchmen and that both were accused of treason on their return to their homeland and ended their lives in misery and sorrow. There is no gainsaying that Lally and La Bourdonnais were intrepid men and Dupleix's apathy to their efforts is a well-known fact of history. In the case of La Bourdonnais we have Orme's testimony that his plans were simple and his orders and his work in Mauritius were beyond praise. Dupleix's acquiescence in this privateer's capture of Madras was half-hearted and particularly as he had intended to sent M. Paradis.

purchase and sale of goods and on houses and scavenging duties were remitted. People who had left the place during the French stay now returned and what greatly gratified the English was the return of the Factors, Ananda Ranga Pillai himself remarking on the lakhs of them, Tamilians, Muhammadans, Lubbys, etc. who now crowded the town with the re-hoisting of the English Flag. Ananda Ranga Pillai wondered where they were all during the French occupation. "It was the will of God that the white flag should be hoisted at Madras that the French should rule there only for two years, eleven months and ten days and that thereafter the English should once more hoist their flag. The wise knows that all things happen not as man wills but as God orders." These are the thoughts recorded by the diarist.

REVIEWS

Kota Texts (Parts 1 to 4) By M.B. Emeneau.—University of California Publications in Linguistics. University of California Press' Berkeley and Los Angeles, California.

THE Kotas of the Nilgiri Hills in South India speak a Dravidian language known to scholars only through a few word-lists of little value. The author hopes to publish in the near future a grammar and vocabulary of the language; in the meantime these volumes contain the linguistic introduction outlining the main features of the language. One man only amongst the adult Kotas knew how to speak English at the time the author was engaged in his studies in the Nilgiris (1936-1938), while no woman knew anything of it. Possibly in the course of this generation the few boys and girls who are attending the schools may be able to speak a smattering of English and very few of them may acquire a respectable command of the language. The texts printed in the work under review have been dictated by Tu.j.

The nature of the Kota texts is described first and is followed by a Sketch of the Kota Grammar, the Linguistic Analysis of Text 25, Sentences 1-5, the Bibliography of the more important writings of the Kotas and their Myths and Rituals in Part I. Parts II and III contain the Myths and Tales of the Kotas and in Part IV the author concludes the Myths and Tales and describes their customs and ceremonies. Stith Thompson describes the Motif Index of Kota Tales and Type and Motif Analyses of Kota Tales in Part IV.

Kotas, Todas, Badagas and Kurumbas are the four communities in the Niligiri Hills. The Todas came first and are non-meat eating pastoralists tending and looking after the buffaloes. Next came the Badagas who are agriculturists. The Kotas are artisans and musicians producing Iron-work, pottery and ceremonial music and also practicising agriculture for their own maintenance. They are meat-eaters and eat beef and even of carrion. The Kurumbas are a jungle tribe feared for their sorcery and bought off by the other communities. They live in the precipitious slopes of the Nilgiris while the other three communities live in the

plateau with settlements scattered among one another haphazardly. The Kotas have seven villages and number in all a little less than 1,500 according to the 1931 census. The Kotas provide the Todas and Badagas with products needed by those tribes and attend some of their ceremonies in order to provide the necessary music while the Todas and Badagas also have certain obligations towards the Kotas. There is probably less intercource between the Kotas and the Todas, or between the Kotas and the Badagas than between the Todas and the Badagas, for the Kotas are considered polluted.

This careful study by the author adds to the knowledge of the tribes of India.

S. S.

Origin and spread of the Tamils. By V.R. Ramachandra Dikshitar. The Adyar Library Series No. 58. Published by the Adyar Library, Adyar, Madras-20. Price Rs. 3-8-0.

THE volume under review comprises the Sankara Parvati Endowment Lectures, 1940 of the University of Madras. The text covers 53 pages. Forty-seven pages of Notes numbering 69 are appended "to enable the readers to form a judgment on the conclusions reached by the author." The author states "an endeavour has been made in these lectures to examine the prevalent opinion held by scholars, both Western and Indian, on the Origin of the Dravidians and their Culture," and claims "that the Tamils were the original inhabitants of the land, who had evolved an independent culture of their own which is generally known as Dravidian." According to the author "the term Dravidian originally stood for the Tamil language and its descendants......... The peoples who lived in Dravida speaking country developed a complex but homogeneous culture, and in a restricted sense Tamil Culture....................Dravida was the home of the ancient Tamils. It is just a name like Aṅga, Vaṅga or Magadha." "In considering the origin of the Dravidians by which terms we mean only the Tamil and Malayalam speaking people" and in referring to the relative ages of Aegean and Tamil civilisation. "The Aegean

civilisation in its historical setting can be said to begin only from 2500 B.C. while the Civilisation of the Tamils may be pushed back on the evidence of archæology by several more conturies." Hence "We have a continuity of culture from Paleolithic to Neolithic, from Neolothic to Megalithic and from Megalithic to Iron Age in South India. It cannot be that this primitive indigenous culture was buried by the invading Dravidians. . . . . My firm conviction is that the ancient Tamils were inheritors of the lithic cultures of South India." Regarding the theories based on language and philosophy, his dictum is "Culture is no more than a language. . . . Racialism is a myth and a dangerous myth (See, Julian Huxley—*Race in Europe*). . . . Seekers of truth and scientists regard the Āryan race theory as entirely erroneous. . . . . If the Āryan race theory is a myth, the theory of the Dravidian race is a greater myth." The author opines "It is the view of experts that the paleolithic man of South India did not live in forests but on hilly plains. (But Note 4 given in this connection makes no such mention.) ....He was not a gross savage unlike the paleolithic man of other countries. So South India must have pre-paleolithic people who were the aboriginals and sons of the soil." He admits later on "No habitations of the paleolithic man have since been so far discovered" and argues "The men of the lithic ages were not probably forest dwellers...... It is only after the discovery of the iron ore that man should have taken to forest residence. How else could he fell the trees and clear the forest?" Referring to the theory that Dravidians migrated to the South in the Iron Age, he argues "This is to set at nought the fundamental unity of South Indian Culture whose origins are rooted in the traditions of the paleolithic and neolithic man, not to mention the rich background of early iron cultures," and declares "What I want to show is that age creates tradition and as the Mediterranean theory of Dravidian race went so far unchallenged the theory had almost become accepted as a fact. The task of challenging the theory has fallen to me." Describing the contents of the pre-historic caves, graves and caves yielding dated or datable articles, he says "This is another evidence of the underlying unity of South Indian culture from the early

Neolithic to the Coḷa times" and continues "All ancient cultures are inter-related by mutual borrowings. . . . If we take into consideration all these circumstances and examine them critically, one has to assume that the authors of these early culture of East Mediterranean (Neolithic Egypt, Neolithic Aegean and Minoan of Crete) were immigrants from South India speaking the Dravidian dialects. The language migrated and with it (*sic*) the peoples who spoke that language. So my humble thesis is that civilisation of the future was born not on the shores of the Mediterranean but on the coasts of the Indian Peninsula and on the banks of its mighty rivers, the Kaveri, the Tambraparni, the Perujar and Amaravati, not to speak of the Kistna, Godavari and Narmada." But he admits "A Negroid strain in the original population of South India as represented by the hill and jungle tribes still with us. I would not contend for the theory of immigration from Africa, Australia, Malaysia, Asia Minor and the Aegean Basin even from pre-historic times. For I believe in cultural drifts from one place to another from earliest times. . . . . But I question the theory that these immigrants were Dravidians. . . . It is wrong to say that the jungle and hill tribes are ethnically different from the Dravidians of South India as we understand the terms today. . . . The jungle and hill tribes or the litteral region cannot be treated as pre-Dravidian nor the Mediterranean and Armenoids as proto-Dravidian. We therefore conclude that the so-called Mediterranean race had its origin in Peninsular India, which was a part of the original Dravidian home which was in the submerged continent that connected South India with Africa, when the Indo-Gangetic basin had not probably been formed."

We have so far dealt with the first lecture entitled "Authors of Early Tamil Culture". The second "Spread of Tamil Culture Abroad" covers familiar ground and is comprehensive in content. But his conclusions and assertions are not always convincing :—

"The language (of Elam) was agglutinative but did not belong to the group Alarodian like the Sumer tongue.........The linguistic affinity between Somali language and Tamil is remarkable. A

distinct contribution of the ancient Dravidian to world culture is the Dravidian tongue "......" Kalla-tōṇi variety (of bow) is interesting. These have an eye carved on either bow with a figure.........This is said to avert the evil eye. Curiously ancient Egyptians, Greeks and Romans copied this." South India should be again credited with having been the fountain head of primitive irrigation.' But Note 17 relating to this does not bear out the claim of 'fountain head,' and the author himself says a few sentences later "it is just possible that there was an independent growth in irrigated cultivation in all riverine tracts where were sown the first seeds of civilisation throughout the ancient world, certainly it need not be the monopoly of one country or the other." The two lectures, fully documented by the notes, collect together all the information available at the time of their delivery. But it is a little difficult to agree with the author that "it (South Indian Culture) civilised the ancient world by its arts and crafts, by its religion and language." A. V. R.

English Translation of the Aryabhinaya (The Sandhya and the Havana) of Shri Paramahamsa Parivrājakachārya Maharshi Svāmi Dayananda Saraswati Ji. Published by Thakur Datta Sharma Dharmartha Trust, Amritdhara Bhawan, Railway Road, Lahore. (1944).

SVAMI Dayānanda Saraswati was born of an orthodox family on Thursday, 23rd September 1824. He was very well educated but was of a very inquisitive mind which never allowed him to remain in peace. He refused to marry and in 1845 went in quest of learned sadhus and as Shuddha Chaitanya he became a monk or a *Sanyāsī*. He later assumed the name Dayānanda Sarasvati under the direction of Svami Purnānada Sarasvati, a Maharashtri Dandi Sannyasin. In 1860 he went to Muttra and commenced study under the great grammarian Svami Virajananda Sarasvati, who disabused Dayānanda's mind of all the fallacious ideas he had got from spurious learning and trained him in the Aṣṭādhyāyi of Pāṇini with its great commentary, the Mahābhāshya of Patañjali. Dayānanda left his guru in 1863 having become a

finished scholar and an able dialectician, with an injunction to propagate the divine teachings of the Vedas all over India. He travelled over the major part of India holding discussions with and silencing the opponents, fearlessly criticising other faiths and disseminating Vedic teachings. His habit was to lay great stress on moral purity and chastity for both men and women. He established the Ārya Samaj and wrote several books. His Āryabhinaya, Sandhya and Havana are intended both for men and women and in them the Vedic method of prayer is revived, the Yogic methods of meditation and regulation of breath are simplified and popularised and he has made the ritual more sensible and rational by interpreting it in an intelligent manner. The text and the translations of the verses make a welcome reading with notes which are really illustrative. S.S.

Advanced Studies in Tamil Prosody. By Dr. A. Chidambaranatha Chettiar, M.A., Ph.D. Published by the Annamalai University, P.O. Annamalainagar S. India. (1943.)

THIS work is a general survey of the development of metres in Tamil with particular references to all the relevant works on the subject. It contains several original points to which particular reference is made in the preface. The traditions about the past have to a certain extent to be relied upon in the history of Tamil literature and these traditions are enshrined in the commentary of Iṟaiyaṉār Agapporuḷ which speaks of three successive Academies somewhere about the second or third century A.D. The exact date of Tolkāppiyam is not yet fixed. He begins from Tolkāppiyam itself. The traditions about Agattiya are many and numerous and sometimes conflict with one another.

We commend the book to all interested in Tamil Literature.

S.S.

Three Famous Tales. By A. S. Panchapakesha Ayyar, M.A., I.C.S., F.R.S.I., Bar-at-Law. Published by G. V. K. Swamy & Co. Educational Publishers, Kumbakonam. Price annas 10. (1946).

A. S. P. Ayyar writes on three famous tales taken from the Aitirīya Brāhmaṇa, the Mahābhārata and the ancient Indian folk-lore.

The tale of Naḷa and Damayanti, Bindusāra's story and putting a stop to human sacrifice, that is, where it changed the unattractive Harischandra, breaking out of his promise by an inglorious purchase of another's son as a substitute, into the sublime Harischandra of the purāṇas, disdaining to go back on his word and sacrificing himself, his wife and child on the altar of truth, are all familiar to Indians.

S.S.

Sangitaratnākara of Sārangadeva, Translated into English with detailed notes by Dr. C Kunhan Raja. Vol. I. Chapter 1. Adyar Library Series No. 51. Published by the Adyar Library, Adyar, Madras. 20. Price Rs. 4-8-0, Cloth; Rs. 4 Board, (1945).

A translation of the text of Saṅgitaratnākara which was published in the Adyar Library Series as No. 30 in 1943 with notes corresponding to the text-edition and considering the needs of different readers and a free English rendering with the clarity of expression completeness of presentation and general faithfulness to the original is here presented by Dr. C. Kunhan Raja. Naturally a large number of Sanskrit words are retained in the translation, for these terms would mean nothing in English or will convey quite a different meaning in English. One could not think of another scholar better qualified for a faithful translation of the work than Prof. Kunhan Raja and the dedication of this work to C. Jinarajadasa, a scientist, a philosopher and a teacher is very appropriate.

S.S.

Changing Ideals in Soviet Russia. By K. T. Shah. Pratibha Publications No. 5. Pratibha Publications, Peoples' Buildings, Sir Phirozeshah Mehta Road, Fort, Bombay. Price Rs. 1-12-0. (1945).

IN the booklet under review Shah has collected several articles published in the *Free Press of India* and the *Bharat Jyoti* and shows how the Soviet Ideals of Social Organisation and activity make for the progress which is the law of life, and make

us dynamic among the living communities of the world. The work contains contributions, on 'Changing Ideals in Russia,' 'Changing Ideals in Soviet Russia,' 'Soviet Foreign Policy,' The Battle for Oil,' 'Post War British and American Trade Policies,' and 'Disposal of surplus stocks a great problem'. A study of the problems dealt with by the author repay amply.

S.S.

Cultural History of the Hindus. By Chandra Chakraberty. Published by Vijaya Krishna Brothers, 81, Vivekananda Road, Calcutta. Price Rs. 8. (1946).

THIS book is a collection of materials concerning the Cultural History of the Hindus,—good, bad and indifferent,—in arts, law, philosophy, domestic rites, medicine, astromony, religious festivals and the epics and the purāṇas, dramas, the economic life in ancient India, Indo-Iranian contacts, Indo-Chinese relationship and other things. Nothing seems to be doubtful for the author to be included in his work. We wish a certain analysis is made and the relevancy of the topic discussed in dealing with an important subject matter like the Cultural History of the Hindus.

S.S.

The Bibliography of Indian Culture and its Preparation. By K. Nagaraja Rao, M.A., B.L. Librarian, Annamalai University, Annamalainagar, P.O. Library in India Series 2. Price Rs. 2. (1945).

LIBRARY literature in India is meagre and the pamphlet under review is a welcome addition. The author's ambition for the betterment of Library Service in India has developed into his life mission. He has already presented the public with a comparative study of library movement in India in relation to similar movements in the other progressive countries of the world. In the present pamphlet he has continued his study in regard the preparation of bibliography on subjects of Indian Culture, Literature, History and Religion. We echo the suggestion of the author for an establishment of provincial centres with competent personnel and for the co-ordination of work of these centres. The

author makes a strong case for the compilation of systematic and up-to-date National Bibliographies by trained and experienced patriotic librarians and scholars co-jointly. We hope the government of India and the other governments will give proper consideration for the several suggestions of the author.

R.H.R.

Christianity Vindicated. By Rev. Fr. Arulappa, D. D. The Catholic Truth Society of India. Trichinopoly, H.O. Price Rs. 1-5-0, postage annas 3. (1944).

REVEREND Father Arulappa attempts to establish that we ought not to be eliminated from Christ and Christianity. Whatever is divine and supernatural in Christianity is not to be traced to Oriental Myths and Hellenic Mysteries and the real and objective personality of Christ and Christianity is by proving the authenticity and genuineness of the Gospels wherein Christ manifests Himself as the true son of God by proving his claim with his words and his deeds but specially by the spectacular miracle of His resurrection from the dead. Christianity is the work of Christ and not the work of St. Paul. Truth has its inalienable rights; and justice and fair play demand that we respect them: We agree. S.S.

Meghaduta in English Verse. By D. C. Datta, M.A., Garg Book Company, Jaipur. (1943).

THIS brilliant work of Kāḷidāsa has been attempted to be translated into several languages. It is a most celebrated single lyric of considerable length in ancient literature. While the translation produced in the work under notice in English is good we may be pardoned for remarking that Wilson's translation still continues to hold the field. S.S.

Critique of the Gotha Programme. By Karl Marx, with appendices by Marx, Engels and Lenin. Published by National Book Agency Limited, 12, Bankim Chatterji Street, Calcutta. Price Re. 1. (1944).

AFTER the First World War the programme of the principles of Karl Marx began to gain considerable emphasis and the present

work is "Notes on the Programme of the German Workers' Party" including a number of chapters from Lenin's, *The State* and *Revolution* which deal directly with the critique. It was accepted by the Congress in Gotha in 1875 where the Social Democratic Workers' Party of Germany and the General Association of German Workers' which had been founded earlier were united. Labour is the source of all wealth and culture and useful labour is only possible in society and through society. The proceeds of labour belong undiminished with equal right to all members of the society. Since the instruments of labour are the monopoly of the capitalist class the resulting dependence on it is the misery and servitude in all its forms of the working class. The emancipation of labour demands the promotion of the instrument of labour to the common property of the society and the co-operative regulation of the total labour with equitable distribution of the proceeds of labour. All these have to be within the frame-work of the present day national state, which must be conscious that the necessary result of its efforts, which are common to the workers of all civilised countries, will be the inter-national brother-hood of peoples. In order to pave the way to the solution of the social question, the establishment of producers' co-operative societies with state aid under the democratic control of the toiling people is essential. What social functions will remain in existence analogous to the functions of the present state ? Can we avoid a revolutionary transfer from the capitalist to the communist ? Are universal sufferage, direct legislation, people's justice, people's militia merely an echo of a new orientation of the capitalist state ? What is to happen to freedom of science and freedom of conscience ? Is it not likely that there is complete withering away of the state in trying to push Marxist doctrines and suggestions to their logical conclusions ?

S.S.

Authentic Notes of Discussions and Talks given by Krishnamurti. The Star Publishing Trust, Adyar, Madras-20. Price Re. 1. (1944).

THE spiritual talks during 1940 by Krishnamurti revised by himself contain the substance of the discussions at Sarobia and the report of the eight talks at the Oak Grove Ojai. They are not

meant only for intelligent amusement. They are to be made helpful through disinterested application to solve the problems of everyday life. So long as we have to live in this world and cannot run away from it, we must intelligently and creatively understand it, brush aside devastating hate irrespective of idealogies gnawed by religious ideas and cults, economic barriers and nationalities: We must brush aside individual craving and fear through ambition and ignorance: and We free ourselves from the bondages and help to create a truly sane and happy world. Let us work without attachment and envy; let us love without possessiveness and let us be without ill-will towards any one and let us not separate ourselves into narrow and conflicting groups.

S.S.

The Way to New Peace. (With a complete Plan of New Happy Deal) By Amiya Kumar Sanyal. Copies can be had from Sj. Lalit Kumar Sanyal, 5, Balaram Ghosh Street, Shambazar P. O. Calcutta. Price Re. 1-8-0. (1947.)

As long as selfishness and greed continue, whatever the levels of culture or progress in civilisation, will be shortlived and will cheapen human intellect and make, not for peace, but for war. We do not know whither we are lead by the engines of destruction manufactured under the auspices of the latest scientific discoveries. Monarchy as a bureaucratic autocracy makes for some progress and paves the way for disciplinary leaders.

Individual liberty and the rule of law made certain inroads into the ways of nepotism of the absolute monarch. Socialism elaborated various means for the uplift of man and to the benefit of the common man in many walks of life. Feudal distinctions became obliterated by the uplifting arc of time; yet differences continue and communism is today looked upon as the real remedy for all social ills. As practised on a large scale in the Soviet state it does appear as if men are drawing towards realising ideal conditions of life. Amongst ideologies, however, is intermixed the official cold war, an undesirable war of nerves, compared with which the destruction wrought by the atom bomb on Hiroshima and Nagasaki are

nothing. Nobody knows whether to these engines of descrution could be called for a halt, if not in the progress of science at least in the invaluable qualities of man. The economic conditions, political means and rivalries and the selfishness of nations ought to give way if civilisation is to be preserved and if the world should not become a bear-garden. The necessity for a new peace in which truth, purity and simplicity will be the foremost ideals amongst men is a pressing want of the present day. Since the review was sent to the press has begun the war in Korea which well threatens to develop into a global one.

S. S.

Compromises in the History of Advaitic Thought. By Mahamahopādhyāya Prof. S. Kappuswami Sastri, M.A., I.E.S. (Retired) Published by the Kuppaswami Sastri Research Institute, Sanskrit College Road, Mylapore, MADRAS-4. Price Rs. 1-4-0. (1946.)

THIS comprises the two lectures delivered by the late Sanskrit savant under the Rao Bahadur K. Krishnaswami Rao Endowment of the Madras University in February 1940. As stated by Sri S. Radhakrishnan in his foreword the book "illustrates with a wealth of learning and critical penetration, the central characteristic of the Hindu mind, the spirit of comprehension as distinct from that of exclusion;" and makes out that "loyalty to the ancient tradition of India requires us to move forward, and not stand still, in the world of philosophic and religious thought." The lectures are valuable as a masterly survey of the History of advaitic thought. The publishers have enriched the book providing indexes of Sanskrit quotations, of works and authors—and of subjects, Sanskrit and English. It is impossible, however to accept the differentiations of 'accommodation,' or 'compromise' into 'intentional' and 'unintentional' without violence to the language. 'Accommodation' is as the Oxford Dictionary states "adaptation of anything to a purpose or meaning different from the original;" purpose or intention is inherent in it. This explains why the lecturer in evaluating "cases of compromise" enumerated by him first says "it should be difficult to decide which

of them are wholly legitimate and which wholly illegitimate" and later says "most of the accommodative devices which thought itself spontaneously introduces should generally be considered legitimate and unintentional."

A. V. R.

Mother of New India (Naé Bharat ki Māta). A play of the Indian Village in Three Acts. By J. M. Lobo Prabhu, I. C. S. Published by Messrs. Thacker & Co. Ltd. Rampart Row, Bombay. (1944).

THIS work is intended to help rural reconstruction providing opportunites for a proper understanding of the problem and it ought to be illustrated with an example set by each person in his own village and take the lead in village improvement.

S. S.

SANSKRIT

The Jñānadipika—Mahābhārata Tātparya Tika of Devabodhacārya on the Udyoga Parvan of the Mahābhārata. Critically edited by Dr. Sushil Kumar De, M.A., D.LITT. Bharatiya Vidya Series No. 3. Published by the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay-7. Price Rs. 3-0-0. (1944).

STUDENTS of the great epic of the Mahābhārata are grateful to the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan for the publication of this valuable Tīka, which had been used by Dr. De in the critical edition of Udyoga Parvan published by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute. The Ādi Parvan has been published separately by R. N. Dandekar and the Bhīṣma Parvan recently by Dr. S. K. Belvalkar, simultaneously with his critical edition of that Parvan in the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute. The statement that "he is the oldest known commentator on the Mahābhārata" has however, to be qualified as S'rī S'ankara has commented on the 'Bhagavad Gīta and the Viṣṇu Sahasranāma' which are portions of the Mahābhārata. His commentary on Sanatsujātīya also which is a part

of the Udyoga Parva is also current, though Dr. Belvalkar remarks "the attribution of Sanatsujātiya bhāsym to the authorship of Ācārya S'ankara is not beyond cavil."

Devabodha's commentary is not extensive, but is in the nature of a brief running gloss on difficult words and phrases, and occasionally gives the gist of sections and chapters.

As regards "the probable provenance of Devabodha's commentary," Dr. De argues that the text "shows the greatest affinity with North-West S'ārada-Kāshmirī Version" and that Devabodha is a Northern commentator, while S. Srikantha Sāstri mentions him "in a list of Karnātak authors." The commentator himself refers in a number of places the variant readings, *cf.* 5 (3), 19 (14), 25. (4), 37. (4), 39 (App. I No. 1.), 42 (20), 43. (6) and (17) and 163 (10). A close study of these variants in this and the other Parvans available may throw some further light on this question. We would conclude with the following illustrative extracts from the commentary canto 75 s'lōka 12

उभयोः दैवपौरुषयोः अन्वयात् संबन्धात् । क्कापि दैवं प्रधानं पौरुषं गुणभूतं । क्कापि पौरुषं प्रधानं दैवं गुणभूतं । यथा, दैवकृतशीतोष्णादि फलबाधकं प्रसादादि निर्माणलक्षणं पौरुषं प्रधानं गुणभूतं तु दैवं । अन्यथा प्रसादादि निर्माणस्यैव असति दैवे विपरीते चासंभवात् । अन्ततो भूच्छिद्रादेरपि विघ्नस्य संभाव्यमानत्त्वात् । क्वचिदुभयमपि प्रधानं । यथा, अचिन्तिताभिप्रेतफल सिद्ध्यनुमितानुकूलस्य दैवस्य पुरुषस्य पौरुषशैथिल्ये सति प्रतिपक्षेण परिभूयमानस्य प्रचण्डपौरुषातिशयात् परै राष्ट्रग्रहणं । न चात्रापि पौरुषशैथिल्यकाले दैववैगुण्यमाशङ्कनीयं । पुरुषशैथिल्याद् दृष्टादेव परिभवसिद्धौ अदृष्टस्य दैववैगुण्यस्य कल्पनायां प्रमाणाभावात् । इति दैवपौरुषयास्त्रिधान्वयः॥

A. V. R.

Vaikhanasiya Kas'yapa-Jñānakānda (Kās'yapa Saṁhitā). Edited by R. Parthasarathi Bhattachar. Sri Venkatesvara Oriental Series No. 12. Published by the Sri Venkatesvara Oriental Institute, Tirupati. Price Rs. 5. (1948).

THIS volume is the twelfth in the S'rī Venkates'vara Oriental Series. The temple of S'rīnivāsa at Tirumalai is a Vaikhānasa temple. Chief among the Vaikhānasa literature are the Saṁhitas by Marīci, Atri, Kās'yapa and Bhṛugu. Of these, *Vimānārcanakalpa* by Marīci had been published by the Vicharaṇākartha of the temple. The *Samūrtārcanādhikarana* of Atri was published in 1943 as No. 6 of the present series. We hope that Bhṛugu Saṁhita will soon follow. We are also promised a separate volume comprising an acconnt of the Vaikhāna sect, its literature, the place of the Saṁhitas in it and other literary and historical infromation. Such a work will dispel many wrong notions prevailing about the character of worship in temples and its social significance and clarify its place in Hindu Religion. We shall here content ourselves with a few extracts of interest :

Page 2. *Brama Swarūpa*: "पद्मकोशप्रतीकाशे महति विश्वस्यायतने हृदये विज्वलद्वैश्वानरशिखामध्यस्थं परमात्मनं नारायणं तमेव परं ज्योतिरक्षरं ब्रह्मेति ब्रह्मविदो वदन्ति।"

Temple worship: "आलये विधिना विष्णोर्नित्यार्चनमनाहिताग्निना मग्निहोत्रसमादेतच्चाग्निहोत्रफलं ददाति।" "ग्रामादिषु चैतद्ग्रास्तु निवासिनां सर्वेषां सामान्यमग्निहोत्रं सर्वसंपत्करमिति ब्रह्माचाशंसत्।"

Page 30. *Bhakti Mahima*: "भक्तिरेव परा पुण्या भक्तिरेव शुभप्रदा तृष्णावैतरणीयानं संवर्तकातिवृष्टिरक्षा कामहालाहलघ्न्यमृतधारा संकल्पविजहा देहबन्धमोक्षप्रदायिनी . . . . दुःखत्रयजालभेदिनी सुखचिन्तामणिप्रदा. . ."

Page 78. *Bhagavato Rupadvayam*: अचलं चलमिति द्विविधं भगवतो रूपम्। तत्र सर्वगं व्योमाभमपोहलक्षणं ब्रह्माद्यैरप्यनभिलक्ष्यं

निष्कलमचलम्। . . . तस्माद्यचलमात्मनो यद्भिन्नं सर्वदेवात्मकं मत्स्याद्यंशचनकं सकलं तच्चलं। . . . यदा निष्कलं सूक्ष्मं परं ज्योतिर्नारायण इति च कीर्त्यते यदा स्थूलः सकलस्तदा विष्णुरिति। . . . . निरालम्बाराधनं सङ्कल्पधनिनां श्रेष्ठाश्रमिणाम्। सालम्बं सम्यक् संसारनिष्ठानां भुक्तिमुक्ति फलप्रदत्वात्।"

It is note worthy that the only prohibition about individuals found in this volume is as follows:

Page 112. अर्चनाकाले सर्वे प्रतिलोमा वेददूषकाः पाषण्डिनोप्यदृश्याः। तस्मात्प्रच्छन्नपटं कृत्वा . . . . नित्यार्चनमारभेत्॥"

The respective scope of Vaikhānasa and Pāñcharātra Āgamas is given on page 171. "वैखानसं पाञ्चरात्रमिति विधानद्वयं विष्णोस्तन्त्रम्। वैखानसं सौम्यमाग्नेयं पाञ्चरात्रं। तस्माद्ग्रामनगरपत्तनादिषु गृहेषु च वैखानसविधानेन भगवन्तं पूजयेत्। भुक्तिमुक्तिफलप्रदत्वात् सौम्यत्वात्तस्य। नदीतीराद्रिवनप्रदेशे विविक्तेऽपि जनेभ्योऽन्यत्र पाञ्चारात्रेणैवार्चयेत्। तान्त्रिकत्वादाग्नेयत्वात्तस्य।"

The editor's introduction is illuminating and gives a good survey of the contents. An exhaustive table of contents is also given. The text is edited from eleven manuscripts and variant readings are given in footnotes in the respective pages.

A.V.R.

Vedabhāṣyasāra of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita. Edited by Pandit R. N. Patankar. Bharatiya Vidya Series No. 12. Published by the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay 7. Price Rs. 1-0-0. (1947).

BHATTOJI Dīkṣita has tried to summarise the introduction to Ṛgveda by Sāyaṇācārya in this work. Students of the Vedas know the Ṛṣi who uttered the several *ṛks*, the meter in which the particular *ṛk* is written and the particular God mentioned

in that particular *ṛk*. That is not sufficient, they must also know the meaning of it. Yāska has stated thus:

स्थाणुरयं भारहारः किलाभू-
दधीत्य वेदं न विजानाति योऽर्थम् ।
योऽर्थज्ञ इत्सकलं भद्रमश्नुते
नाकमेति ज्ञानविधूतपाप्मा ॥
यद्गृहीतमविज्ञातं निगदेनैव शब्द्यते ।
अनग्नाविव शुष्कैधो न तज्ज्वलति कर्हिचित् ॥

The Vedas do stress upon right character and conduct. The various sacrifices mentioned therein give only worldly pleasures. None of them grant *mokṣka* or everlasting bliss. Even the few *ṛks* mentioned in the book show that these minor gods Agni, Indra, and Varuṇa etc. grant the devotee wealth and other pleasures of this world as defined by the words, *artha*, (अर्थ), *dharma*, (धम) and *kāma* (काम).

In the introduction Prof. Gode mentiones thirty-four of the works of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita, the author of the work under notice. The author being himself a grammarian has tried to determine the *svara* of each letter and word used in the work in addition to the explanation of the various *ṛks*. It is highly gratifying to note that the author has succeeded remarkably in his attempts in this work.

M.B.N.

Acyutarāyābhyudaya of Rājanātha Diṇḍima. (Sargas 7 to 12.) Edited by A. N. Krishna Aiyangar. Adyar Library Series No. 49. Published by the Adyar Library, Adyar, Madras-20. Price Rs. 3-8-0. (1945.)

RAJANATHA Diṇḍima was the Court Laureate of Acyutarāya of Vijayanagara. Sargas 7 to 12 of Acyutarāyābhyudaya are edited with meticulous care and an adequate introduction by A. N. Krishna Aiyangar who has long specialised in the Sanskrit Literature of mediaeval South India. Acyutarāyābhyudaya aims at being a mahākāvya conforming in every detail to the features

which rhetoricians like Daṇḍin had laid down as those which a true mahākāvya must possess. All historical matter possible has been drawn from it. It is a prelude for an adequate survey of the achievements and the services to culture and scholarship of the great rulers of South India, whose enlightened patronage has started the debate as to whether the correct name of their capital is not the city of Learning, *Vidyānagara*, rather than the city of Victory, *Vijayanagara*.

Acyutarāyābhyudaya is the statement made by the minister to Acyuta at the Venkatavilāsamantapa wherein the rebellion of one Sellappa and his conjunction with the ruler of Tiruvadi are reported. Sellappa had run away with concealed enmity and had taken refuge under the Cēra ruler. The Pāṇḍya king who had been dispossessed of his ancestral dominions was supplicating for help and protection. It was the duty of kings like Acyuta to reduce to submission the rebels and to protect the good.

S.S.

Tarkabhāsha and Vadasthāna of Mokshākara Gupta and Jitaripāda. Edited by H. R. Rangaswami Iyengar, M.A., Director, Oriental Research Institute, Mysore. Price Rs. 3. (1944.)

IT is only due to the great Acarya Dinnaga, the father of the mediaeval logic in India, we have today the systematisation of the Buddhist logic. His master-piece on the subject is the Pramāṇa Samuccaya, the Sanskrit original of which is not yet found, while only a Tibetan version of it is now available. Rangaswami Iyengar has offered a new edition of the Tarkabhāsha of Mokshākara Gupta thoroughly compared with the Tibetan translation. The editor of the book under review had the benefit of comparing the readings also in the Baroda manuscripts as given in the first edition of Tarkabhāsha published in the Gaekawad's Oriental Series in 1942. We learn that an English translation of Tarkabhāsha has been taken up by the editor of the present work and we hope it will be published soon for the benefit of the English knowing scholars.

S.S.

SANSKRIT-ENGLISH

आत्मबोधः (Ātmabōdha)—Self Knowledge. An English Translation of S'ankarāchārya's Ātmabodha with notes, comments, and Introduction by Svami Nikhilananda. Published by Sri Ramakrishna Math, Mylapore, MADRAS-4. Price Rs. 4. (1947.)

WE welcome this useful addition to the steadily growing list of publications by S'ri Rāmakrishna Math making available in an English garb the treasures of Vedantic works. This volume is a reprint of the American Edition of the english translation of S'rī S'ankarācārya's Ātmabodha by S'vami Nikilananda of the Rāmakrishna-Vivekananda Centre of New York. It contains also a valuable and elaborate introduction on Vedānta: its theory and practice, extending over 150 pages and also translation of fourteen other devotional hymns by S'ri Śankarācārya. In the preface, the Svami refers to three great misconceptions regarding S'ankarā's philosophy and rebuts them. The volume itself contains in S'ankarā's words the refutation of each of these. Regarding the first, that he discourages the performance of duties and advocates the discipline of non-action for the realisation of Truth, we may quote:

गेयं गीतानामसहस्रं ध्येयं श्रीपतिरूपमजस्रम् ।
नेयं सज्जनसङ्गे चित्तं देयं दीनजनाय च वित्तम् ॥
(S'lōka 13. P. 294.)

Regarding the second, that because of his "staunch loyalty to non-dualistic ideal of Brahman, or the absolute, he is an enemy (*sic*) of the Gods and goddesses of popular religion," the devotional hymns in the volume bear witness to the contrary. On the third, that "S'ankara, through his doctrine of māyā, describes the world as a snare and a delusion" and that his philosophy is "pessimistic and negative," s'lōka 7 of Ātmabodha declares:

तावत्सत्यं जगद्भाति शुक्तिकारजतं यथा ।
यावन्न ज्ञायते ब्रह्म सर्वाधिष्ठानमद्वयम् ॥ Page 162.

The learned translator also rightly points out 'Though, in the end, the worshipper realises that both he and the personal God are

non-different, being Manifestations of Brahman, yet as long as he remains conscious of his individuality and retains even a trace of his ego, the distinction between himself and its Personal God, hold good." Again on page 72 he says, "Śankara admits the reality of the relative world (until realisation) and stresses the fact that in this state both good and evil should be treated as real. Therefore, ethical laws must be obeyed. They form the foundation of Vedāntic discipline." And as he points out on page 114, "It is not the reality of the universe that is negated, which, being Brahman, always exists. What is really negated is the illusory notion that the universe of name and form is real in itself, independent of Brahman." But this should not lead us to the thinking that Vedānta is pantheism. "When a non-dualist says that the universe is Brahman, he does not mean like a pantheist, that Brahman has become the universe with names and form. He means that the universe is in reality, *turuja* or pure consciousness." In Śrī S'ankara's words :

"जगद्विलक्षण ब्रह्म ब्रह्मणोऽन्यन्न किञ्चन ।"
and "त्वयि मयि चान्यत्रैको विष्णुः ॥"

The central theme of Ātmabodha the translation of which is given in the volume is given in s'lōkas 34, 35, 36 and 37.

निर्गुणो निष्क्रियो नित्यो निर्विकल्पो निरञ्जनः ।
निर्विकारो निराकारो नित्यमुक्तोऽसि निर्मलः ॥
अहमाकाशवत्सर्वं बहिरन्तर्गतोऽच्युतः ।
सदा सर्वसमस्सिद्धो निस्सङ्गो निर्मलोऽचलः ॥
नित्यशुद्धविमुक्तैकमखण्डानन्दमद्वयम् ।
सत्यं ज्ञानमनन्तं यत्परं ब्रह्माहमेव तत् ॥
एवं निरन्तराभ्यस्ता ब्रह्मैवास्मीति वासना ।
हरत्यविद्याविक्षेपान्रोगानिव रसायनम् ॥

The previous stanzas lead up to it and the subsequent stanzas state how this contemplation is to be done and what the results are. Realisation is not the acquisition of some thing new, but

only the discovery (uncovering) of what is always there. In S'ri S'ankara's words,

आत्मा तु सततं प्राप्तोऽप्यप्राप्तवदविद्यया ।
तन्नाशे प्राप्तवद्भाती स्वकण्ठाभरणं यथा ॥ 44
जीवस्सर्वमलान्मुक्तः स्वर्णवद्द्योतते स्वयम् । 66

the Ātma is always there and the Jiva himself freed fiom impurities shines as Brahman in the vision of wisdom ज्ञानचक्षुस् ।

The volume is full of priceless gems and the introduction is comprehensive and illuminating. The notes elucidate all intricate points very clearly. We commend its study to all who seek *jñāna* (ज्ञान) and *s'ānti* (शान्ति).

A.V.R.

Vedāntaparibhāṣa by Dharmarāja Adhvarin. Edited with an English translation by S. S. Suryanarayana Sastri, M. A., B. Sc. (Oxon.), Barrister-at-law. Adyar Library Series No. 34. Published by the Adyar Library, Adyar, Madras-20. Price Rs. 2-12-0. (1942.)

THE late Suryanarayana Sastri's career in the Madras University, Department of Philosophy, has been unique and distinguished. When his career was cut short the University sustained a grievous loss; Indian philosophy lost an erudite exponent and the large and increasing circle of students of Indian philosophy a guide, editor and translator whose publications are characterised by profound scholarship and masterly and critical exposition and facile expression.

Dharmarāja's Vedānta Pāribhāṣa, being a great classic on Advaita Vedānta, has been published several times. But as stated by Sri S. Radakrishnan in his foreword "this edition is the one best suited for use as a text book." The book is enriched by a valuable introduction, a detailed and very helpful analysis of contents and instructive notes which constitute a new work in themselves. The following extracts from the introduction and notes will reveal their value and illuminating character :

"As a compendious yet full treatment of the psychology and epistemology of Advaita Vedānta the Pāribhāṣa is unrivalled: its discussion of the cosmology is not as detailed.............The most intriguing and the most detailed part of the treatise relates to *pratyakṣa*. What is fully perceptible and perceptual is but the absolute experience, Brahman, which is *Sākṣad aparokṣa*. Inspite of its eternal non-dual reality we seem to perceive a world of fleeting duality, as it were. The diversified content is said to be a projection of *māya* and *avidya*........... In the empirically valid, finite, every-day world, cognition is not identical with, but distinct from, the content. We have to give an account of the perceptuality of the former and the perceptibility of the latter. In the Brahman, there is non-difference between cogniser and cognised ......In finite cognition, this is not the case; subject and object are such, because they appear distinct and contrasted. If this appearance were ultimate, knowledge of the object, execpt, perhaps in a remote and mediate fashion would be impossible...... Further such a relation would not achieve immediacy..... if the relation be not purely external, then it as well its relata will share a common nature, at least in part......We thus seem to have no basis for maintaining the absolute distinctness of a perceptible object. Since experience is indubitable......we hold that these differents and these differences are super-imposed on the sole reality, *viz.* experience......In speaking of the apparently limited consciousness, some speak of it as defined, as it were (by the *vritti*, the object, etc.); others use the language of prototype and reflection and speak of consciousness reflected in the *vritti*, etc... What really matters is the admission of immediacy, in any ultimate sense, for the supreme consciousness alone. Though eternally immediate, it sometimes fails to appear so; this failure is due to obscuration by *māya*, where texture and *modus operandi* are indeterminable. *This obscuration can be and is removed in varying degrees by the cognitive functioning of the internal organ.* It is effectively removed by the *akhanda-sākṣātkāra*, the intentive impartite...... From the ultimate point of view, removal of obscuration is also little intelligible as obscuration itself. The only answer to such a question must take

refuge in a somehow sense contact including *manas* as an organ, brings perception..... This is the comparatively simple position of the Bhāmati school......The rival *vivaraṇa* school seeks to effect refinements on this. It is not prepared to admit the *manas* in a sense-organ. The final intuition, it is claimed, is the product of *sruti* itself. ......admitting the greater keenness of analysis of the *vivaraṇa* position. We may yet question the ultimate satisfactoriness of the analysis made......The whole subject-object relation in consciousness being unintelligible to the advaitin, where is the propriety of seeking for an apparently satisfactory view of this relation?......The moment we are interested in the cognitive mechanism and seek to make adequate our understanding of it psychologically, we find ourselves bogged in a morass of logical absurdities. The *vivaraṇa* school and its adherents have thus not achieved any substantially valuable result despite their apparently greater acumen. Nearly the same judgment has to be passed on the *vivaraṇa* view of the *jīva*......On strictly non-dualistic lines of reasoning, it is possible to abandon the commonsense position (of multiplicity of *jivas*) and maintain the empirical reality of but a single *jīva*, the whole world (inclusive of other *jīvas*) being his dream creation; some say that this *jīva* is *Hiraṇyagarbha*; others (like the author of *Vivaraṇa*) maintain that the inquirer himself is this single *jīva*. A position like this is as intolerable as it is logically unassailable. It is absurd to set out a metaphysical disquisition, wherein the exponent himself figures as dream of the inquirer......The author of the Pāribhāṣa would appear to have not too much sympathy with such a view, despite his loyalties to the author of the *vivaraṇa*. Hence it is that we have an ungrudging statement of rival views as to release and to the possibility of some finding release and serving as example to others yet in bondage. Views of the kind serve to show that Advaita need not fly in the face of commonsense and that it can accommodate itself a good deal of the requirements of the work-a-day world."

" Note 12. Cognition is consciousness; and consciousness is non-generality; what then is the function of the contact between sense-organ and object? It is to generate a psychosis (*vritti*) which manifests consciousness, *i.e.* removes the nescience which

veils the *jīva*; or manifests non-difference of the *jīva* considered finite from the object-defined Consciousness, or establishes a relation between the object and *jīva*, which though infinite, is not the material cause of objects and hence, unlike Brahman, is not in identity with them......"

" Note 24. Even the hard-boiled realist has to admit scales of value (in terms of temporal existence) though not scales of reality, inspite of all entities being real, some are more durable than others; this must be set down to the very nature of things; in the same way, asks the advaitin, why may it not be that despite the non-reality pheuomena, some (like silver in the shop) last longer than others (like the delusive silver) and have to be ranked higher? Like all *tu quoque* arguments, this is not very strong..............."

Note 28. The Naiyāyikās and the Advaitins explanation of the process of seeing, hearing, etc.—" The problem does not appear so simple to the modern reader.......Might it not be simpler to say that colour comes to sight rather than sight goes to colour? The problem of sound is even more complicated for we are now familiar with radio wave convertible from and into sound waves. A listner in Madras can hear Big Ben more quickly than a passer by on London Bridge, as electric waves travel with the speed of light, while sound waves are far slower. Does the sense of hearing function in the same way in both cases, by reaching to the original locality of the Sound ?.........Again, we hear at the same time sounds both near and far, some more faintly than others. Does the sense of hearing split itself into different parts and reach to the different localities?.. ......These difficulties are not conclusive of any position; but they do throw considerable doubt on the view that any sense-organ functions by reaching out to the object."

Note 39. The import of words is a vexed question in all philosophy, Eastern as well as Western. Students of Western logic will be familiar with the discussions as to connotation and denotation and the existence of any term which do not possess either connotation or denotation. The discussion is in some ways parallel to the Indian discussion as to whether the express sense is

the generic or the particular or both. Neither aspect of significance can be wholly denied, as language will otherwise fail of its purpose ; the only question is as to which, if either, is primary . . . words, like other finite entities, are essentially defective ; we can find only certain grades of perfection in their use, and it will be fruitless to search for a higher grade of perfection through the suppression or subordination of a necessary aspect of significance . . . . ."

Notes (60)—On reality not being a counter correlate or even the correlate of Negation, (63) On various views as to whether validity is intrinsic or extrinsic, (69) Īs'vara, a reflection, (85) Diverse pronouncements on Jīvanmukti are also available.

A. V. R.

ENGLISH-TAMIL

The Elephant in the Tamil Land. By E. S. Varadarajaiyer, B.A., Annamalai University Tamil Series No. 8. Published by the Annamalai University, Annamalainagar P.O. (1945.)

WE have had contributions on the elephants, describing how they are caught and tamed and so on in the several articles published in these pages. The elephant is today the largest of the terrestrial mammals. It is interesting to note that the elephant is mentioned two or three times in the Ṛigveda by the name *Mrigo-hasti*. Ancient literature contains several references to the elephant, its habit, its customs and the uses to which it was put. This book contains an interesting account of the elephant in the Tamil land available in Tamil literature. The scrupulous way in which the different parts of the animal have been named is suggestive of the intimate knowledge possessed by the ancient Tamilians. The Indian elephant was first introduced to the Romans when Pyrrhos transported some from Epiros to Italy in 281 B.C.

S.S.

QUERY

The Editor invites the readers of the **Quarterly Journal of The Mythic Society** to communicate their views on the points mentioned in the following extract.

Identification of Koḷḷipāka, Koḷḷipākki or Koḷḷipāki.

THE Cōḷa king Rājādhirāja Jayaṁgoṇḍān (1018—1052 A.D.) claimed to have burnt Koḷḷipāka, Koḷḷipākkai or Koḷḷipāki. So too, his father, Rājēndra Cōḷa-Gangaikoṇḍan. Some scholars have identified the place with Koḷḷipāka in the Nizam's Dominions: Kolanupāka, as a matter of fact, lay in the dominions of the Eastern Cāḷukyās of Kuṇtala. Kolanupāka, not being in Kuṅtala or Karnātades'a, cannot be looked for in the Nizam's Dominions. Dr. J. F. Fleet, too, could not satisfactorily identify the place and he abandoned the idea, because of the paucity of materials at his disposal.

In footnote 6 on page 437 of the *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Pt. 2, Dr. Fleet gives the following information. Koḷḷipāki or Koḷḷipāka is mentioned as the birthplace of Rēṇukācarya, Rēṇukēśa or Rēvaṇaprabhu. It appears that Gangādhar Madiwaleshwar Turmari in his *Introduction* to the *Rājas'ēkharavilāsa* of S'adakṣari, stated that Rēṇukēs'a was one of the *pancācāryas* who established the Lingāyet religion, and that he founded a *maṭha* at Koḷḷipāki, and gave the *paṭṭādhikāra* or pontiffship of it to his son and disciple, Rudramunīs'vara; that in Rudramunīs'vara's lineage were born Uddānagaṇādhis'vara, Annadānīs'a, Rēvaṇasiddhēs'vara and Chikkvīradēva, who established a *maṭha* at Dangūr, south of Bangalore and became the *paṭṭādhikāri* of that *maṭha*. It is stated further that in Chikkavīradēva's lineage was born Sadakṣara, the author of the poem *Rājas'ēkharavilāsa*, who became the pontiff of Dangūr *Maṭha* about 1631 A.D. that S'adākṣari died at Yelandur on the Cauveri and that his descendants are still to be found at Koḷḷīpāki, Dangūr and Yelandur. The latter two places can be identified but the writer of the Introduction did not give any information about the first place, Koḷḷipāka.

Kittel, in his introduction to *Nāgavarma's Kannada Chchanda* (Pp. XLVIII, LXVIII. Note 19, LXIX, Note 2) states that Bālehalli (Kadaḷpura) near Honnur might be the Koḷḷipāki.

I feel that Koḷḷipāka, which is referred to in the inscriptions, (Ep. Car.) must be looked for somewhere in the Mysore territory itself. From Epigraphia Carnatica Vol. VII Shikarpur (Sk.) No. 323, it appears that Mahāmandalēs'vara Siṇgaṇṇarasa bore the titles "Koḷḷipākēyaṁ Kāvaṁ" and "Maṟivugē-kāvaṁ" and was the ruler of the Banvāsi 12,000 country. Koḷḷipāka, thus appears to have been the gate for the south and that under the Western Cāḷukya kings, Jagadekamalla and Ahavamalla, Koḷḷipāka was the seat of a governor who was protecting the South.

In the light of the above information identification of Koḷḷipāka (Koḷḷipāki) which must be somewhere in Mysore, for the other two places are also in the Mysore territory is sought for.

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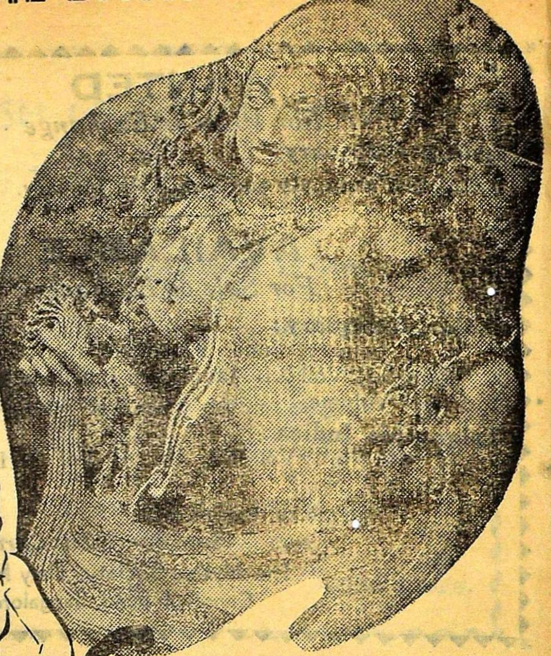

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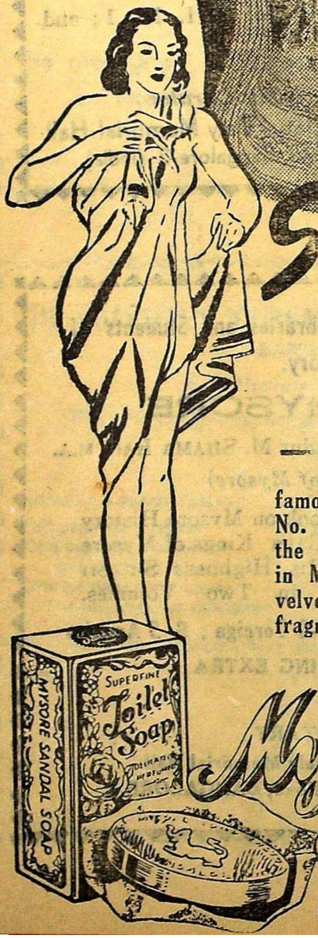

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